THE

HISTORY

OF THE

English Baptists,

FROM THE

REFORMATION

To the Beginning of the

Reign of King GEORGE I.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

Their History from the Reſtoration of King CHARLES II. to the End of his Reign.

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MDCCXXXIX.

HISTORY
OF THE
BAPTISTS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE
READER.

IT *may be expected, and I did intend, that this Volume ſhould have contained all I at firſt propoſed to the publick. But ſince my publication of the former Volume, I have had ſuch materials communicated to me, that I could not in juſtice to the communicators omit them, without incurring the juſt cenſure of a partial hiſtorian. Beſides, it having been objected to me, that a more early account of the* Engliſh Baptiſts *might be obtained; it gave a new turn to my thoughts, and put me upon conſidering the ſtate and condition of the Chriſtian Religion, from the firſt plantation of the Goſpel in* England. *Now in this enquiry, ſo much has occurred to me, as carries in it more than a probability, that the firſt* Engliſh *Chriſtians were* Baptiſts. *I could not therefore paſs by ſo material a fact in their favour: And becauſe it cannot now be placed where it properly belongs, I have fixed it by way of preface to this ſecond Volume. Moreover, in my firſt Volume, I did exhibit part of a* Confeſſion of Faith, *publiſhed by the* Baptiſts *about the year* 1611, *taken from Mr.* Robinſon, *paſtor of the* Engliſh *Church at* Leyden; *who in the year* 1614, *printed ſome remarks upon it, and ſaid, it was publiſhed by the remainder of Mr.* Smith's *company. Whether Mr.* Smith *had left this people, or whether upon ſome diſagreement, they departed from him, I cannot ſay. It is not very material, nor at this diſtance of time very eaſy to determine. But as I have lately obtained a* Declaration of Faith *publiſhed by them; and as the ſame may give us ſome light, reſpecting the opinions of the* Engliſh Baptiſts, *in thoſe early days of the Reformation; ſo I have placed it, tho' out of due time, in the* Appendix *of this Volume,* N°. I.

And the rather, because they declare, 'they are forced a-
'gainst their whole minds to publish it, for the clearing of
'their innocency in such things, as men do commonly keep up
'in their account; and all to further their reckoning in con-
'tempt with men of all estates.' I may justly add; the
same practice is continued among some of the Pædobaptists, *even to the present time: as appears by the late histories of the Reverend Mr.* Neal, *and Mr.* Lewis; *both which I have already replied to.*

Also in my first Volume I took notice, that the Baptists *presented an* Humble Supplication *to King* James I. *the Parliament then sitting; and gave only a short account thereof. This has been questioned by some: and the Reverend Mr.* Lewis *seems to doubt it, because he says,* The Anabaptists are said *to have presented unto King* James I. *in Parliament time, their Humble Supplication.* —— But this I have not seen. *Therefore I have now placed it also in the* Appendix *of this Volume,* N°. II.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge and amend a mistake, pointed out to me by a worthy learned gentleman, (whose modesty deemed his information of so little importance, as to chuse not to be mentioned) in the preface to the first Volume, p. 28. *where I denominate Monsieur* Bayle *a* Papist. *I did not then know he had again embraced the reformed religion: and desire my Readers to correct that paragraph, by erasing* being, *and over-writing* who had been.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THE gospel of *Christ Jesus*, the Son of God, was begun by the ministry of *John*; who, as the herald of the Lord *Messias*, went before him to proclaim his first approaches, and prepare men, by *Repentance* and *Baptism*, for this new dispensation, which was the accomplishment of ancient prophecies.

This was the first person that we read of in the Holy Scriptures, that used *Baptism* as a sacrament, and initiated his disciples by it. From hence he derived the title of *Baptist*, or *Baptizer*; as being therein the author of some new and strange practice among them. For although there were *divers washings* used among the *Jews*, by God's appointment, yet that it was their custom to baptize those that were made proselytes, and initiate them, and their children, into the mystery of the *Jews* religion by *baptism*, as some pretend, is a groundless opinion. There is no such thing mention'd in the law of

John *the first baptizer.*

Moſes; and therefore, if there was ſuch a practice, it muſt be a *tradition of the elders*, and fell among their other ſuperſtitions, under the cenſure of our bleſſed Saviour. And is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, an Inſtitution of the goſpel was founded upon a ſinful cuſtom of the *Jews*? But the ſcriptures give no account of any ſuch practice. Thoſe *Rabbies* that do make mention of any ſuch thing, lived many years ſince the death of our bleſſed Saviour. Their writings are full of lies and blaſphemy, and therefore no credit can be given to them; nay, they contradict one another even in this very point; and thoſe who deny it, are as ancient and as learned as the affirmers of it.

Received his commiſſion from heaven. Luke iii. 2.

This great prophet *John*, had an immediate commiſſion from heaven, before he enter'd upon the actual adminiſtration of his office. And as the *Engliſh Baptiſts* adhere cloſely to this principle, that *John* the *Baptiſt* was by divine command, the firſt commiſſioned to preach the goſpel, and *baptize* by *immerſion*, thoſe that received it; and that this practice has been ever ſince maintained and continued in the world to this preſent day; ſo it may not be improper to conſider the ſtate of religion in this kingdom; it being agreed on all hands, that the plantation of the goſpel here was very early, even in the *Apoſtles* days. I ſhall therefore enquire, when, and by whom (as far as hiſtory can inform us) the goſpel was firſt preach'd in *Great Britain*. And here it muſt be granted, that hiſtorians give a very different account; yet they agree in this, that the early reception of the goſpel was either from an Apoſtle

Apoſtle or apoſtolical men; and that Chriſtianity was maintained at firſt in its purity, and preſerved it ſelf for ſome years, from the errors and ſuperſtitions of the church of *Rome*.

I ſhall begin with the account of that honeſt hiſtorian, the reverend Mr. *Fuller*; 'Who it was, *ſays he*, that firſt brought over 'the goſpel into *Britain*, is very uncertain. 'The converſioner (underſtand *Parſons* the 'Jeſuit) mainly ſtickleth for the Apoſtle '*Peter* to have firſt preach'd the goſpel here.' And having confuted *Parſons*'s five arguments, which he had brought to prove it, ſays; 'We have ſtaid the longer in confuting theſe arguments, becauſe, from *Peter*'s 'preaching here, *Parſons* would infer an obligation of this *Iſland* to the ſee of *Rome*.' He further obſerves; That ſome would have *James*, the ſon of *Zebedee*; others St. *Paul*; others *Simon* the *Canaanite*; and others *Ariſtobulus*, though not an *Apoſtle*, yet an Apoſtle's mate, to be the firſt planters of religion in this *Iſland*. 'The reſult of all is this, ſays 'he, *Churches* are generally ambitious to entitle 'themſelves to *Apoſtles* for their founders; 'conceiving they ſhould otherwiſe be eſteem'ed but as of the *ſecond form*, and *younger 'houſe*, if they received the faith from any 'inferior preacher.—— Whereas, indeed, it 'matters not if the *doctrine* be the *ſame*, 'whether the *Apoſtles* preached it by them'ſelves, or by their ſucceſſors. We ſee lit'tle certainty can be extracted, who firſt 'brought the goſpel hither. 'Tis ſo long 'ſince, the *Britiſh church* hath forgotten her 'own *infancy*, who were her firſt *Godfathers*.

Ch. Hiſtory, Book I. p. 3.

Anno 41.

Ibid. p. 4.

'We ſee the *light* of the *Word ſhined* here; 'but ſee not who *kindled it.*'

Anno 63. Now amongſt the converts of the natives of this Iſland, in this firſt age to Chriſtianity, *Claudia*, ſurnamed *Ruffina*, is reputed a principal; ſhe was wife to *Pudens*, a *Roman* ſenator; and that this is the *Claudia*, a *Briton* 2 Tim. iv. 21. born, mentioned by St. *Paul*, then living at *Rome*. Mr. *Fuller* endeavours to prove againſt the exceptions of *Parſons* the Jeſuit, by anſwering his objections to the contrary; and then ſays, 'The iſſue of all is this: *Clau-* 'dia's ſtory, as a *Britiſh* Chriſtian, ſtands 'unremov'd, for any force of theſe objecti- 'ons; tho' one need not be much engaged here- 'in.—— But now to return again to the prime 'planters of religion in *Britain*. As for all 'thoſe formerly reckon'd up, there is in au- 'thors but a tinkling mention of them; and 'the ſound of their preaching low and little, 'in compariſon of thoſe loud peals which are 'rung of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* his coming Ibid. p. 6, 7. 'hither.—— Whilſt *Philip* (whether the 'Apoſtle or Deacon, is uncertain) continued 'preaching the goſpel in *France*, he ſent *Jo-* 'ſeph of *Arimathea* over into *Britain*, with '*Joſeph* his ſon, and ten other aſſociates, to 'convert the natives of that Iſland to Chri- 'ſtianity. Theſe coming into *Britain*, found 'ſuch entertainment from *Arviragus* the king, 'that though he would not be diſſuaded from 'his idolatry by their preaching, yet he al- 'low'd them twelve hides of ground (an hide 'is as much as, being well manur'd, will 'maintain a family; or, as others ſay, as 'much as one plow can handſomely manage) 'in a deſolate Iſland, full of fens and bram- 'bles,

'bles, called the *Vnis Wittrin*; ſince, by 'tranſlation, *Glaſſenbury*. Here they built 'a ſmall church; and, by direction from '*Gabriel* the Archangel, dedicated it to the 'Virgin *Mary*, encompaſſing it about with a 'church-yard; in which church, afterwards, '*Joſeph* was buried: And here theſe twelve 'lived many years, devoutly ſerving God, 'and converting many to the Chriſtian re-'ligion.'

Mr. *Fuller* ſays, he 'dares not wholly 'deny the ſubſtance of this ſtory, though 'the leaven of monkery hath much ſwollen, 'and puffed up the circumſtance thereof; —— 'and that as this relation is preſented unto 'us, it hath a young man's brow with an old 'man's beard. I mean, ſays he, novel ſu-'perſtitions diſguiſed with pretended an-'tiquity. In all this ſtory of *Joſeph*'s living 'at *Glaſſenbury*, there is no one paſſage re-'ported therein beareth better proportion to 'time and place than the church which he is 'ſaid to erect; whoſe dimenſions, materials, 'and making, are thus preſented unto us. 'It had in length ſixty foot, and twenty ſix 'in breadth, made of rods watled or interwo-'ven:— In this ſmall oratory, *Joſeph* with 'his companions, watched, prayed, faſted, 'and preached, having high meditations un-'der a low roof, and large hearts betwixt nar-'row walls. Let not then ſtately modern 'churches diſdain to ſtoop with their higheſt 'ſteeples, reverently doing homage to this 'poor ſtructure, as their firſt platform and 'precedent. And let their chequer'd pave-'ments no more diſdain this Oratory's plain

'floor, than her thatched covering doth envy 'their leaden roofs.

Ibid. p. 8. 'By all this it does not appear, says *Fuller*, That the first preachers of the gospel 'in *Britain* did so much as touch at *Rome*; 'much less that they received any command 'or commission thence to convert *Britain*.

Vol. I. p. 69. Mr. *John Fox*, when treating of the first planters of the gospel in *Britain*, cites *Nicephorus*; who saith, 'That *Simon Zelotes* 'came into *Britain*. Some others alledge, 'out of *Gildas*, *de Victoria Aurel. Ambrosii*, 'That *Joseph* of *Arimathy*, after the dispersion of the *Jews*, was sent by *Philip* the 'Apostle, from *France* to *Britain*, about the 'year of our Lord, threescore and three; 'and here remained in this land all his time; 'and so, with his fellows, laid the first 'foundation of Christian faith among the '*Britain* people. Whereupon other preachers and teachers coming afterward, confirmed the same, and increased it more." And, for confirmation hereof, he alledges the testimonies of *Gildas*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, and the words also of the letter of *Eleutherius*; which import no less, but that the faith of Christ was here in *England*, among the *British* people, long before *Eleutherius*'s time, and before *king Lucius* was converted.

Vol. I. p. 137. '*Gildas*, our countryman, *says he*, in his history affirmeth plainly, That *Britain* received the gospel in the reign of *Tiberius* 'the emperor, under whom Christ suffered.

'The second reason is out of *Tertullian*; 'who living near about, or rather somewhat

'before

'before the time of this *Eleutherius*, in his 'book *Contra Judæos*, manifeſtly importeth 'the ſame. Where the ſaid *Tertullian*, te-'ſtifying how the goſpel was diſperſed abroad 'by the ſound of the *Apoſtles*, and there rec-'koning up the *Medes*, *Perſians*, &c. reciteth 'alſo the parts of *Britain* which the *Romans* 'could never attain to; and reporteth the 'ſame now to be ſubject to Chriſt.—— Note 'here, how, among other, divers believing 'nations, he mentioneth alſo the wildeſt 'places of *Britain*, to be of the ſame num-'ber, and theſe, in his time were *chriſtned*, 'who was in the ſame *Eleutherius*'s time, 'as is aboveſaid. Then was not Pope *Eleu-'therius* the firſt which ſent the Chriſtian 'faith into this realm; but the goſpel was 'here received before his time, either by '*Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as ſome chronicles 'record, or by ſome of the *Apoſtles*, or of 'their ſcholars, which had been here preach-'ing Chriſt before *Eleutherius* wrote to '*Lucius*.

'My third probation I deduct out of *Ori-'gen. Hom.* IV. *in Ezechielem*, whoſe words 'be theſe: *Britanniam in chriſtianam conſen-'tire religionem*. Whereby it appeareth, 'that the faith of Chriſt was ſparſed here 'in *England*, before the days of *Eleuthe-'rius*.

'For my fourth probation, I take the 'teſtimony of *Beda*; where he affirmeth, 'That, in his time, and almoſt a thouſand 'years after Chriſt here in *Britain*, *Eaſter* 'was kept after the manner of the Eaſt-'church, in the full of the moon, what day 'in the week ſoever it fell on; and not on

'the *Sunday*, as we do now: Whereby it is 'to be collected, that the firſt preachers in 'this land, have come out from the Eaſt part 'of the world, where it was ſo uſed, rather 'than from *Rome*.

'*Fifthly*, I may alledge the words of *Nice-'phorus*, lib. ii. cap. 40. where he ſaith, 'That *Simon Zelotes* did ſpread the goſpel of 'Chriſt to the Weſt ocean, and brought the 'ſame unto the Iſles of *Britain*.

'*Sixthly*, May be here added alſo the 'words of *Petrus Cluniacenſis*; who writing 'to *Bernard*, affirmeth, That the *Scots*, in 'his time, did celebrate their *Eaſter*, not after 'the *Roman* manner, but after the *Greeks*, &c. 'And as the ſaid *Britains* were not under 'the *Roman* order, in the time of this ab-'bot of *Cluniake*; ſo neither were they, nor 'would be under the *Roman* legate, in the 'time of *Gregory*; nor would admit any pri-'macy of the *biſhop* of *Rome* to be above 'them.

'For the *ſeventh* argument, moreover, I 'may make my probation by the plain 'words of *Eleutherius*; by whoſe epiſtle [a], 'written to *king Lucius*, we may underſtand 'that *Lucius* had received the faith of Chriſt 'in this land, before the king ſent to *Eleu-'therius* for the *Roman* laws; for ſo the ex-'preſs words of the letter do manifeſtly pur-'port. By all which conjectures, it may 'ſtand, probably, to be thought, that the 'Britons were taught firſt by the *Grecians* 'of the Eaſt church, rather than by the 'Romans.'

[a] Which may be ſeen both in *Fuller* and *Fox*.

Mon-

Monſieur *Rapin*, a late author, gives this account of the firſt plantation of the goſpel in *Britain*. He ſays; 'Before the birth of our 'Saviour, the *Britons*, like the reſt of the 'world, the *Jews* only excepted, were *groſs* 'idolaters; they not only worſhipped *falſe* 'gods, but, if their own hiſtorians are to be 'credited, had as *many*, and as *extravagant* 'ones, as the *Egyptians* themſelves.——— *Hiſt. of* Engl. Vol. I. p. 27.

'Though it be difficult to know the pre-'ciſe time, yet all agree the goſpel was 'preached in *Great Britain* ſoon after our 'Saviour's death. But thoſe who place this 'event in the reign of *Tiberius*, do not con-'ſider, the firſt Gentile *Cornelius*, was not 'converted till the year of our Lord 40; 'that is, three years after the death of that 'emperor.

'*Baronius*, upon the queſtionable autho-'rity of *Simeon Metaphraſtes*[b], which he 'himſelf juſtly rejects on ſeveral other occa-'ſions, ſays; St. *Peter* firſt preach'd to the '*Britons*. This opinion is the more impro-'bable, becauſe it is certain St. *Peter* per-'form'd the office of an Apoſtle chiefly in 'the *Eaſtern* countries. Others affirm, That '*Simon Zelotes*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, 'undertook the converſion of the *Britons*. '*Nicephorus Calliſtus*, *Dorotheus*, in his *Sy-'nopſis*, and the *Greek Kalendar*, ſay; This 'Apoſtle was crucified and buried in *Britain*. 'At the ſame time, we find in the *Roman* '*Martyrology*, and in thoſe of *Bede*, *Adon*,

[b] A writer of the tenth century, ſays Mr. *Tindal*; ſo called from writing the lives of the ſaints. He was a lay-man. *Notes upon* Rapin, *p.* 28.

'and

'and *Uſuard*, that St. *Simon* ſuffer'd martyr-'dom in *Perſia*.

'The moſt current opinion, for ſome time, 'was, That *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* firſt preach-'ed to the *Britons*. Though this tradition, 'ſupported by the ſole teſtimony of *William* 'of *Malmsbury*', in proof of the antiquity 'of the church of *Glaſton*, or *Glaſſenbury*, 'ſays, after *Freculphus*, that upon the mar-'tyrdom of ſaint *Stephen*, the Apoſtles were 'diſperſed throughout the whole world. St. '*Philip* (continues the hiſtorian) at his com-'ing among the *Francs*, ſent twelve of his 'diſciples, with *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as 'their head, to propagate the goſpel in '*Great Britain*; where they arrived in the 'year of our Lord 61. After ſome oppo-'ſition from the inhabitants, a certain king 'gave them a little ſpot of ground, ſurround-'ed with fens and buſhes to dwell in. Not 'long after, two other neighbouring kings, 'having allow'd them twelve *hides* of land 'for their ſubſiſtance, the Angel *Gabriel* 'commanded them, from God, to build a 'church in the place now called *Glaſton*, but, 'at that time, *Inſwitrin*. This chuch was 'finiſhed in the year 63; and, as the hiſto-'rian adds, was dedicated by our Saviour 'himſelf, as a mark of diſtinction to the *Vir-'gin Mary*.'

Rapin, after a refutation of the proofs brought in vindication of this tradition of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, obſerves, That 'though

' A writer of the twelfth century ſtands upon no better foundation than thoſe above mention'd; it has however been deem'd inconteſtable. *Malmsbury*,

'the

'the exact time of the converſion of the 'Britons be uncertain, it is very probable 'the goſpel was preached in the Iſland not 'long after the death of Chriſt. *Theodoret* 'aſſures us, the *Britons* were converted by 'the Apoſtles. *Euſebius*, ſpeaking of the 'dangers the Apoſtles were expoſed to in 'propagating the goſpel in the moſt remote 'countries, mentions, among the reſt, the '*Britiſh* Iſles. Now, ſays he, the likelieſt 'time to be aſſigned for the converſion of the '*Britons*, if it was in the apoſtles days, is 'that between the victory of *Claudius* and 'the defeat of *Boudivea*. For, at the time of 'the general revolt, there were in the Iſland 'above eighty thouſand *Romans*, among 'whom, very probably, were ſome *Chri-* 'ſtians, the goſpel having now got footing 'in many places, particularly at *Rome*. Up- 'on this ſuppoſition there is no abſurdity in 'aſſerting, with ſeveral modern authors, 'that St. *Paul* firſt preach'd the goſpel in 'Britain. It is certain this Apoſtle, in the 'eight years between his firſt impriſonment 'at *Rome*, and his return to *Jeruſalem*, pro- 'pagated the *Chriſtian* religion in ſeveral 'places, eſpecially in the *Weſtern* countries. 'He informs us of his deſign of going to 'Spain; and it is not unlikely but his deſire 'of converting the *Britains* might carry him 'into their Iſland. This opinion may be 'ſupported by the teſtimony of *Venutius For-* 'tunatus, in his poem upon the life of ſaint 'Martin; where he ſpeaks of the travels of 'St. *Paul*. But after all, theſe are only con- 'jectures, and of no other uſe but to make it 'more credible, that the goſpel was planted

'in

'in *Britain* ſoon after the death of our 'Lord.'

The true *Chriſtian* doctrine, and form of worſhip, as delivered by the *Apoſtles*, was mantained in *England*, and the *Romiſh* government and ceremonies zealouſly withſtood, till the *Saxons* enter'd into *Britain*, about the year 448. during which time there is no mention of any baptizings in *England*, but of adult perſons only. And from this ſilence in hiſtory, touching the baptizing of any *Infants* in *England*; from the *Britons* being ſaid to keep ſo ſtrictly to the holy Scriptures, in doctrine and ceremonies; in which there is no mention of baptizing *infants*; and from the accounts of thoſe who were baptized, which expreſly mention their faith and converſion, the *Engliſh Baptiſts* have concluded, that there was no ſuch practice as baptizing of *Infants* in *England*, for the firſt three hundred years after it received the goſpel; and certainly he would have a very hard taſk that ſhould undertake to prove there was.

B. Hiſtory, ib. i. p. 10. Mr. *Fuller* informs us, That *Lucius*, king of *Britain*, in the year 167, 'being much 'taken with the miracles which he beheld 'truly done by pious Chriſtians, fell in admiration of, and love with their religion; 'and ſent *Elvanus* and *Meduinus*, men of 'known piety and learning in the ſcriptures, 'to *Eleutherius*, biſhop of *Rome*, with a 'letter; requeſting ſeveral things of him, 'but principally that he might be inſtructed 'in the Chriſtian faith. The reaſon why he 'wrote to *Rome* was, ſays *Fuller*, becauſe, 'at this time, the church therein was the

'most eminent church in the world, shining 'the brighter, because set on the highest *candlestick*, the *imperial city*. We are so far 'from grudging *Rome* the happiness she 'once had, that we rather bemoan she lost 'it so soon, degenerating from her primi- 'tive purity.

'*Eleutherius*, says he, at the request of Ibid. p. 12.
'king *Lucius*, sent unto him *Faganus* and '*Derwianus*, or *Dunianus*, two holy men, 'and grave divines, to instruct him in the 'Christian religion; by whom the said king '*Lucius*, called by the *Britains*, *Lever-Maur*, 'or the *Great light*, was baptized, with ma- 'ny of his subjects.

Mr. *John Fox* thus relates the story of *Martyrology*, king *Lucius*. 'About the time and year of Vol. I. p. 138.
'the Lord 180, says he, king *Lucius*, son 'of *Coilus*, which builded *Colchester*, king 'of the *Britains*, who then were the inha- 'biters and possessors of this land, which 'now we *Englishmen* call *England*, hearing 'of the miracles and wonders done by the 'Christians at that time, in divers places, as '*Monumetensis* writeth, directed his letters to '*Eleutherius*, bishop of *Rome*, to receive of 'him the Christian faith. —— The good bi- 'shop, hearing the request of this king, and 'glad to see the godly towardness of his well 'disposed mind, sendeth him certain teachers 'and preachers, called *Fugatius*, or, by some, '*Faganus*, and *Damianus*, or *Dunianus*; 'which converted first the king and people 'of *Britain*, and baptized them with the 'baptism and sacrament of Christ's faith.'

In the year 178, says Mr. *Fuller*, 'Some *Church Hist.* 'report, That, at this time, three thousand p. 13.

'philo-

'philoſophers of the univerſity of *Cambridge*, 'were converted and baptized; that king '*Lucius* came thither, and beſtowed many 'privileges and immunities on the place, with 'much more improbable matter.'

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. p. 28. *Rapin* obſerves, That 'from the conver-'ſion of *Lucius*, to the *Dioclefian* perſecution, 'the *eccleſiaſtical* hiſtory of *Britain* is intirely 'unknown. It is very probable, however, 'ſays he, that, during that interval of eighty 'years, the *Chriſtian* religion made great 'progreſs in the Iſland; as appears from '*Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Bede*, and *Gildas*: But 'what puts the thing out of all diſpute, is, 'the multitude of *Britiſh* martyrs [whom I muſt (till the Paedobaptiſts convince me to the contrary) believe were all *Engliſh* Baptiſts] 'that ſuffer'd during the dreadful per-'ſecution under *Dioclefian* and *Maximian* his 'collegue.'

It was in the year 469, that the *Saxons* invaded *England*. They made a compleat conqueſt; overthrew *Chriſtianity*, and ſet up the Heathen *idolatry*. But thoſe *Chriſtians* which eſcaped, fled into *Cornwall* and *Wales*; where they ſecur'd themſelves, and maintained the true Chriſtian faith and worſhip. *Jeffery* of *Monmouth*, in his book, *De Britannorum Geſtis*, Lib. iv. cap. 4. as cited by Mr. *Danvers*, tells us, 'That in the 'country of the *Britains*, Chriſtianity flou-'riſhed, which never decayed, even from 'the *Apoſtles* times. Amongſt whom, ſays 'he, was the preaching of the goſpel, ſincere 'doctrine, and living faith, and ſuch form of 'worſhip, as was delivered to the churches 'by the *Apoſtles* themſelves; and that they,

Treat. of Baptiſm, p. 333.

'even

'even to death it ſelf, withſtood the *Romiſh* 'rites and ceremonies; and that about the 'year 448, the *Engliſh Saxons* began to poſ-'ſeſs *Britany*; and that about 593, they 'having made a compleat conqueſt of the '*Britains*, and began to ſettle their *Heptar-'chy*.—— That, 'as long as the *Britiſh* chur-'ches poſſeſſed the country, they kept them-'ſelves ſound in the faith, and pure in the 'worſhip, order, and diſcipline of Chriſt, as 'it was deliver'd to them from the *Apoſtles*, 'or their *Evangeliſts*.' But to ſtrengthen this teſtimony, I will cite others.

Mr. *John Fox* thus introduces the entering and reigning of the *Saxons* in the realm of *England*. 'This, ſays he, was the coming 'in firſt of the *Angles* or *Saxons* into this 'realm, being yet *unchriſten'd* and *Infidels*; 'which was about the year of our Lord, as '*William Malmsbury* teſtifieth, four hundred 'ſixty and nine; the captains of whom were '*Henriſtus* and *Horſus*—— and at length 'poſſeſs'd all, driving the *Britains*, ſuch as 'remained, into *Cambria*, which we call 'now *Wales*.' This, as Mr. *Fox* obſerves, 'was by *Gurmundus*, a *Pagan*, king of the '*Africans*; who, joining in league with the '*Saxons*, wrought much grievance to the '*Chriſtians* of the land: Inſomuch that *Theo-'nus*, biſhop of *London*, and *Thadioccus*, bi-'ſhop of *York*, with the reſt of the people, 'ſo many as were left, having no place 'wherein to remain with ſafety, did fly ſome 'to *Cornwall*, and ſome to the mountains of '*Wales*, about the year of our Lord 550.

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 141.

Ibid. p. 149.

'Moſt miſerable, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, at this 'time, was the *Britiſh* commonwealth, croud-'ed

Church Hiſt. Lib. i. p. 39.

'ed up into barren corners, whilſt their ene-
'mies, the *Pagan Saxons*, poſſeſſed the Eaſt
'and South, if not the greateſt, the beſt part
'of the *Iſland* —— needs then muſt reli-
'gion, now in *Britain*, be in a doleful con-
'dition; for he who expects a flouriſhing
'church in a fading common-wealth, let him
'try whether one ſide of his face can ſmile,
Ibid. p. 40. 'when the other is pinch'd. —— The intire
'body of the *Britiſh* church, at this time,
'was in *Wales*; where *Banchor* on the
'*North*, and *Caer-lion* on the *South*, were
'the two *Eyes* thereof, for learning and
'religion.'

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. Lib. ii. p. 43. *Rapin*, upon the ſtate of the *Britiſh* church, from the arrival of the *Saxons*, to the retreat of the *Britons* into *Wales*, begins thus: 'After,
'ſays he, having ſeen what calamities *Britain*
'was expoſed to by the *Saxon* wars of a hun-
'dred and thirty years, a regular account of
'the *Britiſh* church is not to be expected
Ibid. p. 44. 'during that ſpace. —— It is very likely,
'ſays he, all the monuments of the *Britiſh*
'churches were deſtroy'd, where-ever the
'*Saxons* became maſters; and that it was
'not poſſible to preſerve any but thoſe of the
'churches of *Wales*, where the *Saxons* could
'never penetrate. It is eaſy to imagine,
'that the church was in a very mournful ſtate,
'while the *Saxons* were exerciſing their fu-
'ry. Theſe mercileſs idolaters, as well out
'of duty as wantonneſs, not only trampled
'upon every thing relating to the Chriſtian
'religion, but let looſe their rage againſt the
'Chriſtians themſelves. *Gildas* and *Bede*
'have painted out their inhuman proceedings,
'in ſuch a manner as ſhows their barbarities

'were

'were carried to the higheſt Degree imagi-
'nable. *From the eaſt to the weſt*, ſays *Gil-*
'*das*, *nothing was to be ſeen but churches*
'*burnt, and deſtroy'd to their very founda-*
'*tions. The inhabitants were extirpated by*
'*the ſword, and buried under the ruins of*
'*their own houſes. The altars were daily*
'*profaned by the blood of thoſe ſlain thereon.*
'*Bede*, who was a *Saxon*, and therefore not
'to be ſuppoſed to aggravate the cruelty of
'his country-men, expreſſes himſelf thus:
'*By the hands of the* Saxons, *a fire was light-*
'*ed up in* Britain, *that ſerved to execute the*
'*juſt vengeance of God upon the wicked* Bri-
'tons, *as he had formerly burnt* Jeruſalem *by*
'*the* Chaldeans. *The Iſland was ſo ravaged*
'*by the conquerors, or rather by the hand of*
'*God, making uſe of them as inſtruments;*
'*that there ſeemed to be a continued flame*
'*from ſea to ſea, which burnt up the cities,*
'*and covered the ſurface of the whole Iſle.*
'*Publick and private buildings fell in one com-*
'*mon ruin. The prieſts were murdered on the*
'*altars; the biſhop, with his flock, periſhed*
'*by fire and ſword, without any diſtinction,*
'*no one daring to give their ſcattered bodies*
'*an honourable burial.*

'To theſe mournful deſcriptions, ſays *Ra-*
'*pin*, may be added, That the *Britons*, who
'eſcaped the fury of their enemies, not find-
'ing wherewithal to ſubſiſt in the woods and
'mountains, were forced, at length, to ſur-
'render to the conquerors, deeming them-
'ſelves happy in being able to purchaſe their
'lives, with the loſs of their liberty. Some
'fled into foreign parts, and thoſe whom the
'love of their native country kept at home,

'and the dread of ſlavery prevented from ſub-
'mitting to the *Saxons*, dragged on a wretch-
'ed life, in miſerable want and perpetual
'fear. It is therefore no wonder that the
'accounts of the *Britiſh* church are ſo imper-
'fect; ſince the *Saxons* uſed their utmoſt en-
'deavours to deſtroy all the monuments that
'might have been preſerved.'

The Chriſtian *Britons* being thus pent up in *Wales*, kept their ground a good while there; till at length they were intirely ſubdued by a maſſacre, procured, as ſome think, by St. *Auſtin*, for their refuſing to comply with him in embracing the erroneous principles of the church of *Rome*.

The Accounts of this *Auſtin* are as follow:

Fox's Martyr. p. 149. About the year 596, ſaint *Auſtin*, with about forty more, were ſent into *England* by *Gregory* biſhop of *Rome*, to preach the goſpel, and endeavour to plant Chriſtian churches among the *Saxons*. He met with great ſucceſs, the king, and great numbers of the people, being converted and bap-

Ibid. p. 154. tized. Yea, they came in ſo faſt, that he is ſaid to have baptized ten thouſand on a *Chriſtmas* day, in the river *Swale* by *York*. Mr. *Fuller* gives an account of the manner how this was performed; though he is in doubt whether ſaint *Auſtin* or *Paulinus* were the doer thereof; and ſays, it would argue too much morofity in us to demur in our

Church Hiſt. Lib. ii. p. 66. faith to the whole fact. 'And if ſo many, 'ſays he, were baptized in one day, it ap-
'pears plainly, that in that age, the admini-
'ſtration of that ſacrament, was not loaded
'with thoſe ſuperſtitious ceremonies, as eſſen-
'tial thereunto, of croſſing, ſpittle, oil, cream,

'ſalt,

'ſalt, and ſuch like trinkets; which *Proteſtants* generally as little know what they 'are, as *Papiſts* why they uſe them. I ſay, 'in that age, nothing was uſed with baptiſm, 'but baptiſm; the *Word* and the *Water* 'made the ſacrament. Yea, the archbiſhop 'is ſaid to have *commanded, by the voice of 'cryers, that the people ſhould enter the river 'confidently, two by two, and in the name of 'the Trinity baptize one another by turns*: 'This, indeed, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, was the 'moſt compendious way; otherwiſe *Joſhua*'s 'day, wherein the ſun ſtood ſtill, had been 'too ſhort for one man's perſonal perform-'ance of ſuch an employment.'

Rapin, after having given an account of St. *Auſtin*'s miſſion by *Gregory*, and the kind reception he met with from *Ethelbert* the king, ſays; 'The queen got leave for the '*miſſionaries* to ſettle at *Canterbury*, the ca-'pital of *Kent*; where ſhe took care to pro-'vide them with convenient lodgings, and 'procure them the liberty of preaching to as 'many as had the curioſity to hear them. 'They made ſo good uſe of this favourable 'juncture, that in a ſhort time, ſeveral of 'the principal *Saxons* embraced the Chriſtian 'faith. The ſwift progreſs of the goſpel at '*Canterbury*, raiſed the king's curioſity to 'be more particularly inſtructed in the nature 'of the religion theſe ſtrangers preached. At 'length, by the perſuaſions of the queen, 'and frequent conferences with *Auſtin*, he re-'ceived baptiſm, about a Year after the ar-'rival of the *miſſionaries*. The converſion 'of the king being followed by that of mul-'titudes of his ſubjects, the queen's chapel,

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. p. 66.

'which ſtood without the city, ſoon became 'too little to hold them.——— Thus began 'the converſion of the *Saxons* in *England*. '*Auſtin* and his fellow labourers were the In'ſtruments made uſe of, by divine Provi'dence, to turn them from their idolatrous 'ſuperſtitions, to the light of the goſpel; a 'bleſſing their brethren in *Germany* enjoyed 'not till two hundred years after, in the 'reign of *Charles* the Great. *Ethelbert* pro'moted to his utmoſt, the converſion of his 'ſubjects, but without uſing the leaſt vio'lence or compulſion; having learn'd of his 'inſtructors, as *Bede* expreſly obſerves, that 'God requires none to ſerve him, but thoſe 'who do it with a willing mind. It were to 'be wiſhed, ſays *Rapin* [with whom all Baptiſts, and ſincere Chriſtians, will unite] 'that all Chriſtian princes would follow his 'example! The *Saxons* were ſo eager to em'brace the goſpel, that, if hiſtorians may be 'credited, *Auſtin*, in one day, baptized ten 'thouſand in the river *Swale*, which runs in'to the *Thames*.'

Baptiſm was not, in thoſe times, adminiſter'd in a font in the church (much leſs in houſes) but in rivers; nor attended with ſo many ceremonies as practiſed now by thoſe of the *Roman* faith, as Mr. *Fox* obſerves, ſpeaking of St. *Auſtin*; 'After he had baptized 'and chriſten'd, *ſays he*, ten thouſand *Saxons*, 'or *Angles*, in the *Weſt* river, that is called '*Swale*, beſide *York*, on a *Chriſtmas* day; 'perceiving his end to draw near, he or'dained a ſucceſſor, named *Laurentius*, to 'rule after him the archbiſhop's ſea of *Doro*'*bernia*. Where note, by the way (Chri-

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 154.

'ſtian

'ſtian reader) that whereas *Auſtin* baptized 'then in rivers, it followeth, there was then 'no uſe of fonts. Again, if it be true that '*Fabian* ſaith, he baptized ten thouſand in 'one day, the rite then of baptizing at *Rome* 'was not ſo ceremonial; neither had ſo many 'trinkets at that time, as it hath had ſince; 'or elſe it could not be, that he could baptize 'ſo many in one day.'

Auſtin meeting with ſuch ſucceſs, in that part of *Britain* called *England*, held a ſynod near the borders of *Wales*, and ſent to the biſhops of the ancient *Britons*, who had fled into thoſe parts, and were now encreaſed to a very great number, to perſuade them to ſubmit to the authority of the ſee of *Rome*, as many *Saxons* had done, and to embrace the ceremonies of that church, particularly in the time of keeping *Eaſter*, *and in baptizing their children*. 'To theſe, ſays Mr. *Fox*, 'the *Scots* and *Britains* would not agree, 'refuſing to leave the cuſtom which they ſo 'long time had continued.' Anno 604. Fox's *Martyr.* Vol. I. p. 153. Fuller's *Ch. Hiſt.* p. 61.

Thus far it appears, that the doctrine and worſhip which the *Britains* received from the *Apoſtles*, they cloſely adhered to, cleaving to the ſcriptures, utterly renouncing all *Romiſh* Traditions and Superſtitions: But inaſmuch as they refuſed to be ſeduced by *Auſtin*, he not only threaten'd their ruin, but accompliſhed the ſame in a ſhort time after. For,

When *Auſtin* found the *Britons* refuſed to comply with his extravagant propoſals, he abated in his demands, and only deſired their compliance with him in three things. His words, according to *Fabian*, were theſe: 'Sins ye wol not aſſent to my heſts general- Part v. p. 119.

'ly, aſſent ye to me ſpecially in iii things. 'The *firſt* is, that ye keep *Eſter* day in due 'fourme and tyme as it is ordayned. The 'ſecond, that ye geve Chriſtendome to chil-'dren: And the *thyrde* is, that ye preach 'unto the anglis the word of God as afore-'times I have exhorted you. And all the 'other deale, I ſhall ſuffer you to amende 'and refourme within your ſelves. But, *ſaith 'he*, they would not thereof. Then *Auſtayne* 'ſaid unto them, and warned them by man-'ner of inſpyracion, that ſins they wolde not 'receave peace of their brethren, they ſhould 'of other receive warre and wretche.'

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. p. 68.

Bede, an author much more ancient than *Fabian*, as cited by *Rapin*, expreſſes this threat of St. *Auſtin* thus: 'Since you refuſe 'peace from your brethren, you ſhall have 'war from your enemies; and ſince you will 'not join with us in preaching the word of 'eternal life to your neighbours, you ſhall 'receive death at their hands: Which, ſaith 'Mr. *Danvers*, *Auſtin* accompliſhed accor-'dingly, by bringing the *Saxons* upon them 'to their utter ruin.'

How far St. *Auſtin* might be concerned in bringing upon the *Britons* their ruin, does not appear. *Fabian* commends him as a great ſaint and a prophet: indeed, immediately after his words above quoted, and at the end of the paragraph, he adds, 'the which was 'put in experience by *Ethelfridus* king of '*Northumberland*.' Some authors do look upon it as the accompliſhment of his predi-ction: But be that as it will, the *Britains* ſtill held their integrity; neither promiſes nor threats could prevail with them to ad-

mit

mit of the leaſt change in their ancient cuſtoms.

Rapin, upon this head, obſerves; 'That *Auſtin* had not only preſſed the *Britons* to a 'conformity with the *church of Rome*, and 'obedience to the *Papal* authority, but alſo 'had reproached them for their negligence 'and want of zeal, in not promoting the converſion of the *Saxons*. Perhaps, *ſays he*, 'he deſigned to intimate to them, that the 'converſion of all *England* ſtuck only at the 'union he propoſed to them. However this 'be, theſe words of *Auſtin* were looked upon 'as a prediction of the *maſſacre* of the monks 'of *Bangor*:' Which, ſays Mr. *Fox*, 'not 'long after, ſo came to paſs, by the means 'of *Ethelfride*, king of *Northumberland*; 'who being yet a *Pagan*, and ſtirred with 'a fierce fury againſt the *Britains*, came, 'with a great army, againſt the city of *Cheſter*, where *Brockmaile*, the conſul of that 'city, a friend and helper of the *Britains* 'ſide, was ready with his force to receive 'him. There was at the ſame time at 'Bangor in *Wales*, an exceeding great *Mo-* 'naſtery, wherein was ſuch a number of monks, 'as *Galfridus* with other authors do teſtify, that if the whole company were divided 'into ſeven parts, in every of the ſeven parts 'were contained not ſo few as three hundred monks, which all did live with the 'ſweat of their brows, and labour of their 'own hands, having one for their ruler named *Dino*. Out of this *Monaſtery* came 'the monks of *Cheſter*, to pray for the good 'ſucceſs of *Brockmile*, fighting for them a-'gainſt the *Saxons*. Three days they conti-

Ibid. p. 68.

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 154.

'nued in faſting and prayer. When *Ethelfride*, the aforeſaid king, ſeeing them ſo 'intentive to their prayers, demanded the 'cauſe of their coming thither in ſuch a com-'pany; and when he perceived it was to 'pray for their conſul; then ſaith he, al-'though they bear no weapon, yet they fight 'againſt us; and, with their prayers and 'preachings they perſecute us. Where-'upon, after that *Brockmaile* being over-'come did flee away, the king commanded 'his men to turn their weapons againſt the 'ſilly unarm'd monks, of whom he ſlew, at 'the ſame time, or rather martyr'd, eleven 'hundred [*Fuller* ſays twelve] only fifty 'perſons of that number did flie and eſcape 'away with *Brockmaile*; the reſt were all 'ſlain.'

The late reverend Dr. *Calamy*, who ſeems to have taken not a little pains on this head: He quotes *Gildas*, who wrote about the year of Chriſt 564. and ſaid; 'That *Chriſt* '*ſhewing his bright light to all the world,* '*afforded his rays, that is, his precepts, in* '*the latter end of the reign, as we know, of* 'Tiberius Cæſar, *when his religion was pro-*'*pagated without any hindrance.* And if he 'meant this, ſays the doctor, of the publica-'tion of the goſpel in *Britain*, which has 'been the moſt prevailing opinion, we muſt 'allow him to have had better advantages 'for the *knowing* this with certainty then, 'than we can have at this diſtance. Accord-'ing to this account, this Iſland had Chriſti-'anity preach'd in it, within five years of 'our Saviour's crucifixion, which was very 'early; perhaps too early, ſays he, all cir-

God's Concern for his glory in the Britiſh *Iſles*, p. 6.

'cum-

'cumſtances conſider'd, for a place that lay
'ſo remote. A late learned writer therefore Stillingfleet's
'aſſerts, That thoſe words of *Gildas* have *Orig.* Brit.
'been miſunderſtood, and applied to the Lib. I. Ch. i.
'particular preaching of the goſpel in *Bri-*
'*tain*; whereas they were meant of the ge-
'neral liberty of preaching it throughout the
'world. But be it as it will, as to that, all
'ancient writers agree, that Chriſtianity was
'planted in this land very ſoon, conſidering
'its diſtance from *Judea*.

'Tis evident, that after Chriſtianity ob-
'tained here, a great part of the inhabitants
'ſtill continued *Pagans*, and yet our holy
'religion made a progreſs. As it got ground,
'the temples of their ancient idols were ſome
'of them deſtroy'd, and others of them de-
'dicated to the true and living God. We
'have no account of ſuch ſeverities here in
'the primitive times againſt the followers of
'a crucified Jeſus as in other countries. That
'which was the laſt of the ten perſecutions
'under the *Roman* emperors ſeems to have
'been the firſt that affected this Iſland. But
'in that general calamity, in the reign of
'*Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, about the year 303,
'the Chriſtians here were very great ſufferers.
'Tis ſaid, That Maximian *almoſt rooted out* Uſſer Brit.
'*the Chriſtian religion from* Britain; *and* *Eccl. Antiq.*
'*that they who ſuffered martyrdom were almoſt* Cap. 7.
'*beyond number*. *Gildas* tells us, That *their*
'*churches were thrown down, and all the*
'*books of holy ſcriptures that could be found,*
'*were burnt in the ſtreets; and the choſen*
'*prieſts of the flock of our Lord, together*
'*with the innocent ſheep, murdered.* St. *Al-*
'*ban* of *Verulam*, and *Aaron*, and *Julius* of
'*Carliſle*

'*Carliſle* upon *Uſk* in *Monmouthſhire*, and 'many others, ſealed the truth of Chriſtia-'nity with their blood.

'But when the ſtorm was over, which did 'not laſt much above a year, the Chriſtians 'here, as well as in other parts, fled out of 'the woods and dens and caves, where they 'had hid themſelves, and rebuilt their demo-'liſhed churches, and flouriſhed to a great 'degree, both in peace and unity. They 'were much favour'd by *Conſtantius*, the 'father of *Conſtantine*, who continued for 'the latter part of his life here in *Britain*; 'and would ſuffer no man to die for his reli-'gion in his dominions. It was here alſo that '*Conſtantine* himſelf, who was a native of 'this Iſland, firſt declared himſelf a Chri-'ſtian, or inclined that way; which it is not 'likely he would have publickly done, had 'not a good part of his army been of that 'religion: And upon his advancement to the 'imperial throne, 'tis not to be wonder'd at, 'if more ſplendor attended Chriſtianity as it 'was here profeſſed, than had been known 'before. But I have not, ſays the doctor, 'upon the ſtricteſt enquiry I have been able 'to make, hitherto been able to diſcern ſuf-'ficient ground to apprehend, that from the 'beginning, churches, or places of worſhip, 'were ſo nobly adorn'd, or church govern-'ment ſo modelled in this Iſland, as ſome 'time after; or that the prelatical form of 'government was any part of that *glory* that 'was at firſt *declared* in this Iſland.' And he ſpends ſome pages in vindication of his own opinion thereupon, in oppoſition to what had been written in favour of the prelatical par-

Euſeb. *de vit.* Conſt. M. l. 1. c. 13. *ſoz. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* l. 1. c. 6.

'ty; which I paſs, as foreign to my deſign.

'*Britain*, ſays the doctor, was alſo ſadly 'infeſted with the *Picts* and *Scots*; which, 'after various ſtruggles, when no more help 'could be had from the *Romans*, was the 'occaſion of calling the *Saxons* to their aſſi-'ſtance. Theſe *Saxons*, whom *Gildas* calls, '*A nation, odious both to God and Man*; 'came hither to be a ſcourge to the *Britons*; 'about the year of Chriſt 450. They were 'at firſt received as gueſts, and treated as 'ſtipendiaries, in oppoſition to the barbari-'ans; but at length found themſelves ſtrong 'enough to ſet up for maſters; laid the 'whole country waſte, and drove the old '*Britiſh* Chriſtians into the barren mountains 'of *Wales*; and occaſion'd ſuch confuſion 'and deſolation, as *Gildas*, who wrote a few 'years after, thought could never be enough 'lamented. That writer deſcribes their cruel-'ties, and the judgment of heaven upon a ſin-'ful people, which they were the inſtruments 'of inflicting, in ſuch a manner, as muſt 'needs affect all that read his account. He 'ſays, That *all the towns, with the beating 'of the rams, and all the townſmen, paſtors 'prieſts and people, with naked ſwords, that 'glittered on all ſides, and crackling flames, 'were together whirled to the ground.* And 'our hiſtorians ſay, that they ſcarce left the 'face of Chriſtianity where they prevailed. 'And yet pure religion was not even then 'extirpated out of the Iſland.' Ranulph. *Nig. in Chronic. and* Mat. Weſtmonaſt. A. D. 586, 596.

The doctor goes on, and ſays; '*Bede*, 'who wrote his hiſtory about the year 731, 'gives us a great deal of light; though al-'lowance muſt be made for his being himſelf

'a

'a *Saxon*, and not very friendly to the *Bri-*
'*tiſh* churches, and for his having a mona-
'ſtick tincture. Chriſtianity, in a new edi-
'tion of it, with great improvements, as to
'outward pomp, was, during this period,
'received from *Rome*, through the hands of
'*Auſtin* the monk, about the year 598. But
'there was a purer Chriſtianity in the Iſland
'before, that was much freer from adultera-
'tions and corruptions, than that which was
'now introduced under the ſame name. There
'were great conteſts between thoſe of the old
'ſtamp, and thoſe of the new. The former
'lived in *Wales* and *Scotland*, and the latter
'in the heart of the country. So that there
'were conſiderable debates on foot in this
'Iſland, between *Conformiſts* and *Nonconfor-*
'*miſts*, in ancient as well as in modern times:
'And the one ſort was apt to carry it with
'an high hand, and the other was forced to
'be ſatisfied with the conſcience of their own
'integrity then, as well as now. The *Con-*
'*formiſts* then were, in all things, for the me-
'thods of the church of *Rome*; and the *Non-*
'*conformiſts* were for the ways and methods
'of the ancient Chriſtians, and diſowning
Hiſtorical Ac- 'impoſitions. And *they were called* too, *The*
count, p. 69. '*Schiſmaticks of* Britain *and* Ireland; *becauſe*
'*they would not receive the Romiſh altera-*
'*tions, nor ſubmit to the authority by which*
Eccleſ. Hiſt. '*they were impoſed.* In the year 601, *ſays*
Lib. ii. Cap. ii. '*the doctor*, there was a ſynod, called by
'*Auſtin*, to which, *Bede* tells us, the biſhops,
'or doctors of the next province of the *Bri-*
'*tons*, were ſummon'd; in which the abbot
'of *Bangor* gave him a free anſwer to his de-
'mand of conformity to *Rome*. He told
'him,

'him, That *they, the ancient Chriſtians of 'this Iſland, were obedient, and ſubjects to 'the church of God, and to the pope of* 'Rome, *and to every godly Chriſtian; to 'love every one in his degree, in perfect cha-'rity; and to help every one of them by word 'and deed, to be the children of God: And 'other obedience than this he knew not to be 'due to him whom he called the pope*, &c. 'And many of the poor monks, not long 'after, loſt their lives, in return for this free-'dom and reſolution.'

The doctor, having ſhewn the great conteſt in the church about *Eaſter*, ſays, 'It ought 'not to be forgotten, that the difference be-'tween theſe old *Conformiſts* and *Nonconfor-'miſts*, did not lie only in the time of keep-'ing *Eaſter*; they differed alſo about *Bap-'tiſm*: For that was one of the three things '*Auſtin* inſiſted on in his converſation with 'the *Britiſh* doctors; that they ſhould, for 'the future, adminiſter baptiſm after the man-'ner of the church of *Rome*; which is an 'argument they did not uſe to do ſo before.'

The doctor here ſeems to be at a ſtand, leſt his ancient *Nonconformiſts*, which may very well be ſuppoſed to be *Engliſh Baptiſts*, ſhould, by his readers, be taken as ſuch: And therefore, in a comment upon the ac-count he has given, tells us thus: 'Where-'in the difference, *ſays he*, between the old '*Britons* and the *Romans*, properly lay about '*Baptiſm*, is not ſo evident. *Pits* frankly 'owns, he did not know what it was. *Relat. 'Hiſt. de rebus anglicis*, p. 19. Nor does '*Bede* explain it, nor any of our ancient 'writers that I have converſed with. Some

'have

'have thought they differ'd about the *ſubjects of baptiſm*; and that whereas the *Romans* baptized infants, the *Britons* were againſt infant baptiſm; and an argument has been drawn from thence by the *Antipædobaptiſts*: But an anſwer is returned to it by Mr. *Wall*, in his *Hiſtory of infant baptiſm*, p. 327. where he obſerves, that *Pelagius* being a native of *Britain*, his declaring that he never heard of any Chriſtian, Catholick or Sectary, that deny'd infant baptiſm, is a good evidence that his countrymen did not do it. It ſeems more likely, that this difference ſhould have been about the *mode of Baptiſm*, and the very words of *Auſtin*, as *Bede* relates the matter, ſeem to look that way. For he would have them adminiſter baptiſm, for the future, *after the manner of the church of Rome*. Now I know of nothing ſo remarkable in the manner of baptizing in the church of *Rome* at that time, as the *trine immerſion*. That this was cuſtomary in that church, is aſſerted by *Walafridus Strabo*, *de rebus Eccleſiæ*, Cap. 26. And though we have no poſitive evidence, as I know of, that a ſingle immerſion, or aſperſion, or pouring of water, was uſed among the ancient *Britons* in their baptiſm; yet, till ſomething elſe is mention'd, with a ſurer appearance of probability, I am inclined to believe, this was the matter of that part of the difference.'

I muſt beg leave to obſerve here, That this worthy gentleman, upon the ſtricteſt enquiry, as he ſays, could not diſcern ſufficient ground to apprehend, that churches, or places of worſhip, were ſo nobly adorned; or

of church-government ſo modelled in this Iſland, as ſometime after; or that the prelatical form of government was any part of that glory, that was at firſt declared in this Iſland; and takes ſome conſiderable pains to prove it, in oppoſition to a venerable prelate of the church of *England*, who, in an hiſtorical account of church government, as it was in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, when they firſt received the Chriſtian religion, undertook to prove, that it was much the ſame from the firſt, that it is at preſent. But the doctor did not tell us he could not diſcern ſufficient ground for *infant* baptiſm; which, I think, is as undiſcernable as the other. Neither has he taken notice of any of thoſe many inſtances we have of the churches practice reſpecting baptiſm. It may be, his eyes were ſo fixed on the *prelatical* point, he could not ſee thoſe trifling points of *adult* baptiſm, and by *immerſion*; which were apparently the practice of the church in thoſe days: For we have no mention of the practice of chriſtening or baptizing children in *England* before the coming of St. *Auſtin*: And it is evident, he being the pope's legate, brought it from *Rome*: And the doctor himſelf owns, the *Britiſh* church was not yet corrupted with the ſuperſtitions of the *Romiſh* church. But the doctor ſeems to be under a neceſſity to own (becauſe he ſays it ought not to be forgotten) That one of the points in difference between St. *Auſtin* and the *Britiſh* Chriſtians, was that of baptiſm; and ſhould we allow the doctor his way of reaſoning on the *trine* immerſion (which we cannot) what will become of his *ſprinkling*?

But,

But, to me, the evidence of *Fabian*, for ought that appears to the contrary, is as good, if not much better, than that of *Pelagius*: Becauſe, if *Pelagius* did ſay ſo, it is rather a proof of his great ignorance. For it is undeniable, that many, before his time, denied infant baptiſm. Beſides, that he did ſay ſo, only depends upon the veracity of a pope; and but few Proteſtants will believe what the pope ſays, merely upon his own word, in oppoſition to any of their doctrines. However, the arguments for and againſt this point, you may ſee in *Wall*, *Wills* and *Danvers*. But this is evident, *Auſtin* did not uſe many ceremonies in baptiſm; as appears by his performing it in rivers, and baptizing ten thouſand in one day, as aforeſaid; and therefore could not inſiſt upon their baptizing after the manner of *Rome*, as one of the three fundamental points, to be comply'd with by the *Britains*; unleſs the *Romiſh* manner of baptizing was quite different then from what it has been ſince: Becauſe *Bede*, an author vaſtly more ancient than *Fabian*, does affirm, that one of the three things inſiſted on by *Auſtin* was, That the *Britons* ſhould 'compleat the miniſtration of baptiſm (by which 'we are born again unto God) according to 'the cuſtom of the holy *Roman* and apoſtolic 'church.' *Lib.* ii. *Cap.* ii.

That the controverſy about the baptizing of infants, was agitated in *England*, at this time, appears from hence; becauſe one of thoſe difficulties that *Auſtin* met with was this. For when he ſent over certain difficult caſes to the biſhop of *Rome*, for his advice and direction, after he had deſired to know, what

what he ſhould do with the biſhops of *Britain*, who had rejected his propoſals, he made this enquiry; *How long a child may be left unbaptized, if there was no preſent danger of death.* Fox's *Martyr.* Vol. I. p. 151.

The *ſubject* of baptiſm being now changed in *England*, and by a *Romiſh* emiſary, ſo ignorant in the rite, as appears by his queſtion to the pope, and introduced by ſuch a *bloody maſſacre* of thoſe glorious witneſſes of Chriſt, which did ariſe from their Chriſtian courage and zeal againſt thoſe antichriſtian impoſitions of the *Romiſh* church: One would think the *pædobaptiſt* Proteſtants could not be ſo tenacious about a rite ſprung from ſo foul a beginning, as to martyr ſuch a multitude as has been martyr'd in this kingdom for oppoſing it. Yet the *mode* of baptiſm (which has been, and is ſtill too much ridicul'd by the rigid part of the *pædobaptiſts*) continued about one thouſand Years longer; and baptiſm was performed by *dipping* thoſe who were baptized, into the water.

Baptizing in churches did not begin in *England* till about the year 627; when king *Edwin* built one on purpoſe to be baptized in himſelf. He was one of the *Saxon* kings in *England*; and having a Chriſtian queen, was perſuaded to have his daughter, and twelve more, baptized by *Paulinus*; and afterwards was baptized himſelf at *York*, by the ſame perſon. From the converſion of this king, to the end of his reign, which was about ſix years, *Paulinus*, biſhop of *York*, continued chriſtening in the rivers *Gwenie* and *Swale*, uſing the ſaid rivers for his *fonts*. He was forced to fly from his biſhoprick in a time of

persecution; but one *James*, his deacon, a good and holy man, continued there baptizing and preaching in the north parts of *England*.

Ch. History, Lib. ii. p. 73. Mr. *Fuller*'s Account is this: He says, 'King *Edwine*, almost three years a *candidate at large* of Christianity, cordially embraceth the same; and, with many of his nobles, and multitudes of his subjects, is solemnly baptized by *Paulinus*, in the little church of St. *Peter*'s in *York*, hastily set up by the king for that purpose, and afterward by him changed into a firmer and fairer fabrick.'

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 156. Mr. *Fox* tells us, That 'after this [an intended assassination which king *Edwin* escaped] about *Whitsuntide*, the king being fully whole of his wound, assembled his host, intending to make war against the king of *West Saxons* [who sent the assassin privily to slay him] promising to Christ to be christened, if he would give him the victory over his enemies; and in token thereof caused his daughter, born of *Edelburge*, the same *Easter* day when he was wounded, named *Eufled*, to be baptized, with twelve others of his family, of *Paulinus*'—— who addressed himself to the king, after his conquest, in these words; 'Behold, O king, you have vanquished your enemies; you have obtained your kingdom; now perform the third thing, which you promised, that is, to receive the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him. Whereupon, says Mr. *Fox*, the king conferring with his counsel, and his nobles, was baptized of the said *Paulinus* at *York*, with many of his

'other

'other ſubjects with him.' And in the margin ſays, he was baptized in St. *Peter's* church at *York*, which he firſt cauſed to be made of wood, which after, by St. *Oſwald*, was builded of ſtone——. From that time 'forth, during the life of *Edwin*, which was 'the term of ſix years more, *Paulinus* chriſten'd continually in the rivers of *Gwenſie* 'and *Swala*, in both provinces of *Deira* and 'Bernicia, uſing the ſaid rivers for his fonts, 'and preached in the ſhire of *Lincolne*, 'where he builded alſo a church of ſtone at 'Lincolne.' And in the margin, ſays, Note, *Paulinus* chriſten'd in rivers.

Rapin agrees in his teſtimony as to this; and gives a full account from *Bede*, of the ſeveral facts before related. He ſays, 'Quicelin, one of the kings of *Weſſex*, bore the 'yoke of *Edwin* with that impatience, that 'he reſolved to free himſelf from it, by 'means of an aſſaſſin, whom he ſent to him 'on ſome pretence, privately armed with 'a poiſoned dagger. The Ruffin being in'troduced into the preſence chamber, took 'his opportunity, and made ſo furious a *paſs* 'at the king, that he was wounded through 'the body of *Lilla* his favourite, who inter'poſed himſelf, and received the blow. *Pau'linus* being informed of this accident, ha'ſtily ran into the room; and finding *Edwin* 'in a great rage with the king of *Weſſex*, told 'him, God, to whom ſuch wretches were an 'abomination, would not fail to puniſh ſo 'horrid a villany. It is ſaid, that *Edwin*, 'whom the queen had hitherto ſolicited in 'vain, promiſed, at the ſame time, to re'nounce idolatry, if the God of the Chriſti-

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. p. 69, 70.

'ans would revenge him of his enemy. At the same instant news was brought him, 'That the queen, after a hard labour, was 'brought to bed of a princess; for which he returned thanks to his gods. *Paulinus*, for his part, having been in great fears for the queen, fell upon his knees, and thanked God for her deliverance. The prelate's zeal was so pleasing to the king, that immediately conceiving a favourable opinion of the Christian religion, he consented, *Paulinus* should baptize the new born infant. — *Edwin* however, not forgetting the perfidiousness of the king of *Wessex*, marched with an army into his dominions; and, after defeating him several times, compelled him humbly to sue for peace, and make him ample satisfaction. But though he returned with victory, according to his wish, he deferred the performance of his promises. When the queen and *Paulinus* pressed him upon that head, he told them, the quitting his religion seemed to him to be of that importance, that he could not resolve upon it without a thorough examination of matters. — The queen and *Paulinus* continued to solicit the king to perform his promise; and to give the greater weight to what they said to him, they got the *pope* to write him a letter. But all would not do; *Edwin* still demurred, and could not come to a resolution: at last, the circumstances of the *vision* he had formerly seen in the garden of *Redowald*, being, as it is pretended, revealed to *Paulinus*, the work was accomplished in an extraordinary way. *Bede* relates, How that one day, as the king was

'sur-

'surrounded with a crowd of courtiers, *Paulinus* 'came in suddenly, and laying his hand on '*Edwin*'s head, ask'd him, Whether he un- 'derstood the meaning of that *token*. At 'these words, *Edwin* recollecting what had 'passed between him and the *stranger* in *Re-* 'doald's garden, threw himself at *Paulinus*'s feet; who, with an air of authority, 'said to him thus: *My Lord, You have esca-* 'ped the hands of your enemies, and are be- 'come a great king. All that was foretold 'you is come to pass; it is your duty now to 'make good your promise. Upon hearing this, '*Edwin* is said to reply, he was fully satis- 'fied, and ready to receive the *Christian* 'faith. From that moment he strove not 'only to be better informed himself, but also 'to prevail with his subjects to follow his ex- 'ample and embrace the gospel. —— *Edwin* 'being sure of the concurrence of the high 'priest, and some of his principal courtiers, 'called a *Wittena gemot*, or parliament, to 'debate whether the Christian religion should 'be received or not. —— It passed without 'any opposition. —— The same day *Ed-* 'win was baptized, with his neice *Hilda*, af- 'terwards *Abbess* of *Whitby*.

'The *Northumbrians* following the exam- 'ple of their king, *Paulinus*, who till then 'had lain idle, on a sudden found himself 'fully employ'd by the prodigious crowds 'that daily came to be taught and baptized.'

[*Bede* says, that *Paulinus* coming one time with the king and queen, to a place called *Adregrin*, spent there thirty six days from morning till night, in instructing and baptizing (in the river *Gleni*) the people that

Tindal's *notes on* Rapin, p. 70.

flocked to him from all quarters.] 'But if it 'be true, as ſome affirm, That he baptized 'in one day ten thouſand, his inſtructions Ibidem. 'muſt needs have been very conciſe.' [The ſame is ſaid of St. *Auſtin*, and both the rivers are called *Swale*. It may ſeem incredible, that *Paulinus* ſhould baptize ſo many in one day. But this difficulty is removed in an ancient fragment quoted by Mr. *Cambden*: The archbiſhop, after he had conſecrated the river *Swale*, commanded by the cryers and principal men, that they ſhould, with faith, go in two by two, and in the name of the holy Trinity baptize each other.] 'A church 'of timber was haſtily run up at *York* for 'the new converts, who were very numerous. 'Shortly after, *Edwin* laid the foundation 'of a church of freeſtone round the former, 'which ſtood till the other of ſtone was 'built. He had not the ſatisfaction to finiſh Anno 640. 'it; which was done by *Oſwald* his ſuc'ceſſor.'

The cuſtom of having godfathers for adult perſons as well as children, I find was uſed ſo early as the year 640.

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 158. Mr. *Fox*, after having related a fable of *Berinus*'s walking upon the ſea, ſays; 'This '*Berinus* being received in the ſhip again, 'with a great admiration of the mariners, 'who were therewith converted and bap'tized, was driven, at laſt, by the weather, 'to the coaſt of the *Weſt Saxons*; where *Kinigilſus*, and his brother *Quicilinus*, did 'reign. Which two kings, the ſame time, 'by the preaching of *Berinus*, were convert'ed and made Chriſtian men, with the people 'of the country, being before rude and bar-

'barous.

'barous. It happen'd the ſame time, when 'the foreſaid kings ſhould be chriſten'd; 'that *Oſwaldus*, king of *Northumberland*, 'was then preſent, and the ſame day marri'ed *Kinigiſſus* his daughter, and alſo was 'godfather to the king.'

Mr. *Fuller* agrees as to the fact; but places it in the year 636. His words are theſe: 'Birinus here [in the South-weſt part of 'England] ſets up his ſtaff epiſcopal; fixeth 'himſelf; falls a preaching; converts many, 'and amongſt the reſt, *Kyngils*, the *Weſt* 'Saxon king, whom he baptized. *Oſwald*, 'king of *Northumberland*, chanced to be 'preſent at that time, and was firſt *godfather*; 'then father in law to king *Kyngils*, to 'whom he gave his daughter in wife.' *Church Hiſt.* Lib. ii. p. 79.

St. *Chad* 'was, ſays Sir *John Floyer*, one 'of the firſt converters of our nation, and 'uſed *immerſion*, in the baptiſm of the *Saxons*. 'And the well near *Stow*, which may bear 'his name, was, probably, his *baptiſtry*, it 'being deep enough for *immerſion*, and con'veniently ſeated near the church, and that 'has the reputation of curing ſore eyes, ſcabs, 'Oc. as moſt holy wells in *England* do; 'which got that name from the baptizing the 'firſt Chriſtians in them, and to the memory 'of the holy biſhops who baptized in them, 'they were commonly dedicated, and called 'by their names.' *Hiſtory of cold bathing*, p. 17.

This ſaint *Chad* lived about the year 656; and, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, was 'born in *Nor*'*thumberland*, bred likewiſe in *Holy iſland*, 'and ſcholar to *Aidanus*. He was biſhop of '*Litchfield*, a mild and modeſt man—who Anno 656. *Church Hiſt.* Lib. ii. p. 84.

'made many Christians, and amongst the
'rest *Wulfade* and *Rufine*.'

Anno 689. 'Among the ecclesiastical laws of *Ines* or
Ivo, one of the *West Saxon* kings, who be-
gan his reign in the year 689, and reigned
Fox. Vol I. p. 161. thirty seven years, this was one; 'That in-
fants should be baptized within thirty days.'
Which supposes that some, in those times,
were for delaying their baptism.

History of cold bathing, Pt. I. p. 57. 'Wilfrid, says Sir *John Floyer*, converted
'the *South Saxons* to the faith, *et lavacrum*
salutis ministrabat. Eadilualch, their king,
'was baptized in *Mercia*, whose king, *Wulf-*
here being present, *Bede*, in his fourth book,
'makes him his godfather: *Atque etiam de*
fonte egressus duos filios suscepit ex. *Bede*, in
'his first book, relates how *Ceadwalla*, the
'king of the *West Saxons*, left his kingdom
'and went to *Rome*; *ut ad limina beatorum*
apostolorum fontis baptismatis ablueretur
'and that he was baptized, *die sancto Sabba-*
thi paschalis, Anno 689.' And in another
Ibid. p. 11. place, says Sir *John*, 'The Christian bap-
'tism succeeded the *Gentile* purifications;
'and that was performed by *immersion* in
'*England*, and all parts, at the first planting
'of Christianity.' In the life of *Elfredus*
Anno 872. '[who began his reign over *England* in the
'year 872.] we find that *Guthrunnus* the
'*Dane*, with thirty of his companions, were
'baptized in a fountain; and *Asserius de*
baptisterio susceptum nominat. Albatis
'and they used a second rite of ablution, *cum*
vestes candidæ deponerentur, such practices
'of ablution of children, which is both reli-
'gious and physical, is practised in the *East*

'*Indies*,

'*Indies*, as *Albert de Mandesloes* informs us
'in his travels among them. —— And be-
'cause it is usually objected, says Sir *John*,
'that these religious practices of immersion
'are suitable to hot regions, and not to cold,
'I will give some quotations from the wri-
'ters of travels into those cold countries, to
'shew that the northern people use such
'practices.

'The *Muscovites*, says Sir *John*, from *Olearius*, believe themselves the only Christians, because they are immersed into the water, and not sprinkled; and they will receive no proselytes till they are rebaptized by immersion. They therefore dip their children in the fonts; and all persons of riper years are plunged into rivers at their baptisms. And *Olearius* farther affirms, *page* 96. That they often break the ice to get them into the water. Ibid. p. 13.

'*Olearius* also delivers the manner of the baptism of the *Armenians*, who set their children naked in the font, and pour water on their heads and bodies three times. Ibid. p. 14.

'In *Tavernier*'s travels 'tis observed, that the Christians of *Balsara* in *Asia*, who anciently lived near *Jordan*, never baptize but in rivers; and that the godfathers plunge the child all over into the water. And every year these disciples of St. *John* celebrate a feast for five days; during which time they are baptized, according to the baptism of St. *John*. *Tavernier* also farther observes, That the *Armenians* plunge their children into rivers at *Christmas*; and he wonders that the extremity of the weather does not kill the children. The king of

'*Persia* is oft present at this ceremony, per-
'formed at *Christmas*, near *Ispahan*.'

I have been informed, says Sir *John*, that our *Highlanders* oft dip their children in cold water.

Anno 976. King *Ethelred*, who came to the crown in the year 976, appears to have been baptized by a total *immersion*, from an accident that happen'd at his *baptism*.

Acts and Monuments, Vol. I. p. 206. Mr. *Fox*, who calls him *Egelred*, says: 'Of this *Egelred*, it is read, That when *Dun-*
'*stan* the archbishop should christen him,
'as he did hold him over the font, some-
'thing there happen'd that pleased not *Dun-*
'*stan*; whereupon he sware, *per sanctam*
'*Mariam, iste ignavus homo erit*, by the
'mother of Christ, he will be a prince unto-
'ward and cowardly.'

Ch. History, Lib. ii. p. 135. Mr. *Fuller* is more plain; and says, '*Ethelred* —— with whom *Dunstan* had a
'quarrel from his cradle; because, when an
'infant, *he left more water in the font than*
'*he found there* at his baptizing —— from
'such his *addition*, *Dunstan* prognosticated an
'inundation of *Danes* would ensue in this
'Island.'

Sir *John Floyer*, plainer yet, in answer to the objection, That it never was the custom to immerse children in *England*, says, 'I
'will give this remarkable instance of the
'*baptism* of king *Edgar*'s son *Ethelred*, in
'*Polydore Virgil*'s own words: *Is dum bapti-*
'*zabatur, cum subito in sacrum fontem con-*
'*fecti cibi reliquias ex alvo emisisset, tradidit*
'*Dunstanus prædixisse ita futurum, ut ille*
'*quandoque ingens patriæ incommodum dede-*
'*cusque afferret.*'

Dedication.

Mr.

Mr. *Fox*, to shew that the government of Christ's church in *England*, did not depend upon the pope, but hath been directed by such princes as God had placed under him to govern the people of this realm, has given us a table of the ecclesiastical laws made by several of the kings of *England*, for the government of the *British* church. I shall only take notice of that of *Canutus* the *Dane*, who began to reign in this land *Anno* 1016. Among many other ecclesiastical laws he made this: 'That every Christian man understand the points of his faith; and that, at the least, he learn perfectly the Lord's prayer and the creed; and that whosoever cannot, the same shall be excluded from the eucharist, and shall not be received, to undertake for others in baptism.' Anno 1016. *Acts and Mon.* Vol. I. p. 1017.

Though the *baptism* of infants seems now to be pretty well established in this realm; yet the practice of *immersion* in *baptism* continued many years longer; and there were not persons wanting to oppose *infant baptism*. For in the time of *William* the conqueror, and his son *William Rufus*, it appears, that the *Waldenses* and their disciples, out of *France*, *Germany* and *Holland*, had their frequent recourse and residence, and did abound in *England*. Mr. *Danvers* cites bishop *Usher*, who, he says, tells us, 'That the *Beringarian*, or *Waldensian* heresy, as the chronologer calls it, had, about that time, *viz.* *Anno* 1080, generally corrupted all *France*, *Italy* and *England*. And further, the said bishop tells us, out of *Guitmond*, a popish writer of that time, That not only the *meaner sort* in the *country villages*, but the *Treat. of Bapt.* p. 275.

'*nobi-*

'nobility and gentry in the chiefest towns and 'cities, were *infected* therewith; and there'fore doth *Lanfrank*, who was *archbishop* 'of *Canterbury*, in the time of both these 'kings, about the year 1087, write a book 'against them.

'In the time of *Henry* I. and king *Ste'phen*, the said bishop *Usher* tells us, out of *Paulin*'s history of *France*, That the *Wal'denses* of *Aquitain* did, about the year 1100. 'spread *themselves* and their *doctrines* all 'Europe over, whereof he mentions *England* 'in particular.

Anno 1100.

Anno 1158.

'About the year 1158, there came about thirty persons of the *Waldensian* sect over into *England*, and endeavour'd to seminate their doctrines here: These are supposed to reject *infant baptism*, the two chief of them were *Gerhardus* and *Daltinus*.

Acts and Mon. Vol. I. p. 262.

'Thus, says Mr. *Fox*, '*Gerhardus* and *Dal'tinus Navarensis*, who, in their time, ac'cording to their gift, did earnestly labour and 'preach against the church of *Rome*, defend'ing and maintaining, that prayer was not 'more holy in one place than in another; 'that the pope was antichrist; that the clergy 'and prelates of *Rome* were rejected, and the 'very whore of *Babylon* prefigured in the 'apocalypse, *&c.* Peradventure, says Mr. 'Fox, these had received some light of know'ledge of the *Waldenses*, who, at length, 'with a great number of their followers, 'were oppressed and slain by the pope.

'*Illyricus*, in his book *De testibus*, refer'reth the time of these two to the year of our 'Lord 1280. But, as I find in the story of '*Robert Guisbarne*, these two, about the

'year

'year of our Lord 1158, brought thirty 'with them into *England*; who, by the king 'and the prelates, were all burnt in the fore- 'head, and so driven out of the realm; and 'after, were slain by the pope.

Mr. *Danvers* cites *Roger Hoveden*; who in his annals upon the year 1182, saith, 'That *Henry* II. was then very favourable to 'the *Waldensian* sect in *England*; for where- 'as they burnt them in some places of 'France, Italy and Flanders, by great num- 'bers, he would not in the least suffer any 'such thing here, he being in his own wives 'right, possest of *Aquitain*, *Poitou*, *Guien*, 'Gascoyn, *Normandy*, &c. the principal pla- 'ces where the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* in- 'habited, and who being his subjects in 'France, had the freer egress into his *terri- 'tories* here.

Treat. of Bapt. p. 277.

'In the time of *Richard* I. and king *John*, 'we read of no opposition made against 'them, being times of great trouble, what 'by *Richard*'s absence in the *holy wars*, and 'his imprisonment by the *emperor* at his re- 'turn; and the grievous wars, both foreign 'and domestic, that attended king *John*, 'and the great contests he had with the 'pope, who interdicted his kingdom, forbad 'all publick *worship* in the nation, for the 'space of *six years*, only admitting of pri- 'vate baptism to infants, procured the greater 'freedom to the Christians, as well as the 'greater opportunity in those disturbances to 'propagate the truth. ——

'In the time of *Henry* III, about the year '1235, as saith bishop *Usher* out of *Matth. 'Paris*, The orders of the *Fratres Minorites*

'came

'came into *England*, to ſuppreſs this *Wal-*
'*denſian* hereſy.'

Anno 1315. In the time of king *Edward* the ſecond, about the year 1315. *Walter Lollard*, a *German* preacher, a man of great renown among the *Waldenſes*, came into *England*; he ſpread their doctrines very much in theſe parts; ſo that afterwards they went by the name of *Lollards*.

Ch. Hiſtory, Lib. iv. p. 163. Says Mr. *Fuller*: 'By *Lollards*, all know 'the *Wickliffites* are meant; ſo called from '*Walter Lollardus*, one of their *teachers* 'in *Germany*, flouriſhing many years before '*Wickliffe*, and much conſenting with him in 'judgment.'

Of *Wickliff*, his opinions, and his followers, who were called *Lollards*, I have given an account in *Chap.* i. of the firſt volume. I ſhall only now further obſerve, That the practice of *immerſion* or dipping in *baptiſm*, continued in the church until the reign of king *James* I. or about the year 1600. which I ſhall tranſcribe from that ingenious and worthy gentleman, Sir *John Floyer* of *Litchfield*, Knt. who begins his third letter concerning the ancient *immerſion* of infants in baptiſm, thus:

Hiſtory of cold bathing. Ed. 3. p. 50. 'To the Reverend the Dean and Canons, Re-
'ſidentiaries of the Cathedral Church of
'Litchfield.

'*My Reverend friends*,

'MY deſign being to recommend the 'uſe of cold bathing to this country, 'I thought it neceſſary for the aſſuring all 'people of the innocency of that practice, to

'repreſent

'represent to them the ancient custom of our
'church in the immersion of infants, as well
'as all other people at their baptism. And I
'do here appeal to you, as persons well versed
'in the ancient history, and canons, and ce-
'remonies of the church of *England*; and
'therefore are sufficient witnesses of the mat-
'ter of fact which I design to prove, *viz.*
'That *immersion* continued in the church of
'*England* till about the year 1600. And from
'thence I shall infer, that if God and the
'church thought that practice innocent for
'1600 years, it must be accounted an unrea-
'sonable nicety in this present age, to scruple
'either *immersion* or cold bathing as danger-
'ous practices.'

To prove that it was the general practice of the primitive church to baptize their converts in fountains, ponds, or rivers; 'After 'that manner, says he, all nations, whether '*Northern* or *Southern*, received the baptis-'mal ablution.

'The holy scriptures inform us, that St. '*John* baptized in *Jordan*; and this was part 'of our *English* liturgy, *That by the baptism 'of thy well beloved son, Jesus Christ, did 'sanctify the flood* Jordan, *and all other waters.* '*Paul* baptized *Lydia* in a river. And *Phi-'lip* baptized the eunuch in a water; of 'whom 'tis writ, *That they went both down 'into the water.* *Tertullian* affirms, That '*Peter* baptized many in the *Tyber*.

''Tis certain, says he, that there were no 'baptisteries built till after the second century; 'and then they were not built in the church, 'but out of it, and near to some cathedral;

'where the bishop used to baptize at the *Hymns* 'of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*.'

He cites St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Ambrose* and St. *Cyprian*, to prove that *baptism* was perform'd by *immersion*: And then tells us, That 'in the time of *Cludowus*, the *French* king's 'baptisteries were built in the *Western* church, 'and placed near the door on the left hand; 'they were parted in the middle by a traverse 'of wood; one part was allotted to the wo-'men, and the other to the men; and Deaconesses were appointed to assist in the bap-'tizing of the women ——

'In all these baptisteries, says he, they 'used *immersion*; and they descended by 'steps into them as into a sepulchre; be-'cause we are said to be *buried with him* '*in baptism*; and it was the custom of the 'godfathers to receive the men, and the God-'mothers the women, as they came out of 'the water.'

To answer the objection, That this practice may be fitter for hot climates than the cold. He cites the baptism of king *Lucius* and his people by *Phaganus* and *Deruvianus*; and how *Paulinus* baptized king *Edwin* at *York*, and great numbers in the rivers *Glen*, *Swalwa*, and *Trakenta*, with other instances to the same purpose. And in conclusion says; 'By 'all the preceding quotations from *Bede*, 'tis 'clearly prov'd, that *immersion* was the gene-'ral practice in the first planting of Christi-'anity in *England*, and by the following in-'stances it will appear, that it was continued 'in the *English* church till the time of king '*James* I.

'In

'In *Spelman's Concilia*, part the first, in 'the synod of *Cheluchyth*, under *Wulfred* 'archbishop of *Canterbury*, *An.* 821. *cap.* 22. 'I find these words; *Sciant etiam presbyteri, 'quando sacrum baptisma ministrant, ut non 'effundant aquam sanctam super capita in- 'fantum, sed semper mergantur in lavacro, 'sicut exemplum præbuit per semet ipsum Dei 'filius omni credenti, quando esset ter mersus 'in undis Jordanis.*

'That the same custom continued after- 'wards, appears by the *Cassillian* council in 'Ireland, *Anno* 1172. in part second of *Spel- 'man's Concilia*; where it was order'd, *Ut 'pueri deferrentur ad ecclesiam, et ibi bapti- 'zentur in aqua munda, trina mersione.* And 'in the year 1195, in the council at *York*, it 'was order'd, *Ne in baptismate plures quam 'tres suscipiant puerum de sacro fonte.* And 'Spelman shews the continuance of *immer- 'sion*, by a statute made in the council at 'London, held 1200; *Si vero puer in necessi- 'tate baptizetur à laico; sequentia immersio- 'nem, non præcedentia per sacerdotem exple- 'antur.* Many more testimonies of the *im- 'mersion* may be observed in *Spelman.*

'In the constitutions of *Ric. Episc. Sa- 'rum*, 1217, 'tis order'd, That in baptizing 'of a boy, there shall be but three, *ad 'levandum puerum de fonte.* And in the con- 'stitutions of *Ric. Episc. Dunelm.* 1220, 'tis 'order'd, That the water where the child is 'baptized, shall not be kept above seven 'days: And in the *Synodus Wigornienſis*, 'Trina semper fiat immersio baptizandi, An- 'no 1240. And in the *Synodus Exoniensis*, '1287. *Si puer rite baptizatus, non ipsa sub-*

'*mersio, nec præcedentia, sed subsequentia per sacerdotem suppleantur.* And the *Synodus Wintoniensis*, Anno 1366, mentions the *immersion*. I have quoted all the preceding passages, says Sir *John*, from *Spelman*, whose credit cannot be questioned: and I desire also thence to observe, That the *immersion* was always used to children as well as adult persons.

'I will next, says he, produce *Lindwood*, who began to write his *Constitutiones Angliæ*, about the year 1422. And he gives the provincial constitutions of *Edmund Episc. Cant. Anno Dom.* 1234. *Baptisterium habeatur in qualibet ecclesia baptismali lapideum, vel aliud competens.* And a competent baptistery *Lindwood* interprets big enough for the immersion of the person to be baptized. And *Lindwood*, p. 242. gives these remarks on the different ways of baptizing; although *baptism* may be performed by *aspersion*, or *effusion* of water, where there is such a custom, yet the more laudable custom is, that it should be done by *immersion*; and though the *immersion* may be one, yet the custom of the trine *immersion* is more to be approved, because it signifies our faith in the Trinity, and the three days sepulture of Christ. Though this was the opinion of the *Canonists* in his days, yet, 'tis plain, that the trine *immersion* continued longer in *England*; for *Erasmus* noted it as a piece of singularity in the *English* church; because, in his time, they used immersion. And it is evident, by the rubrick in king *Edward* VIth's days, that the *English* church used that practice.

'Then

'Then shall the priest take the child in his 'hands, and ask the name, and naming the 'child, shall dip it in the water thrice; *first*, 'dipping the right side, *secondly*, the left side, 'and the *third* time, dipping the face towards 'the font, so it be discreetly and warily done. 'In the Common-prayer-book, in queen *Eli-*'*zabeth*'s days, the *rubrick* says, naming the 'child, you shall *dip* it in the water, so it 'be discreetly and warily done; but if the 'child be weak, or be baptized privately, 'in case of necessity, it was sufficient to pour 'water upon it.

'King *Edward*'s injunctions were pub-'lish'd, 1547. by which all people were for-'bid the breaking obstinately the laudable 'ceremonies of the church. And in *Sparrow*'s '*collection of articles*, &c. in the articles of 'queen *Elizabeth*, 1564, 'tis order'd, That 'the font be not remov'd, nor that the curate 'do baptize in any parish churches in any ba-'son, nor in any other form than is already 'prescribed. And 1571, *Liber canonum*, '*postremo curabunt ut in singulis ecclesiis sit* '*sacer fons, non pelvis, in quo baptismus mi-*'*nistretur, riteque, decenter et mundè con-*'*servetur.*

'I have now given, says Sir *John*, what 'testimony I could find in our *English* authors, 'to prove the constant practice of *immersion*, 'from the time the *Britons* and *Saxons* were 'baptized, till king *James*'s days, when the 'people grew peevish with all ancient cere-'monies; and through the love of novelty, 'and the niceness of parents, and the pretence 'of modesty, they laid aside *immersion*; 'which never was abrogated by any canon;

'but is ſtill recommended by the preſent 'rubrick of our church; which orders the 'child to be *dip'd* diſcreetly and warily.'

Hiſt. of cold bathing, p. 63. He obſerves, That 'when Chriſtianity was 'firſt planted, the bath ſtructures were turn-'ed into temples, and the *Piſcinæ*'s or cold 'baths, were called *Baptiſteria* by *Pliny*, ju-'nior, and in them they baptized frequently.

Ibid. p. 164. 'And that the *Saxons* who ſucceeded the *Ro-'mans*, brought in the *German* cuſtom of 'waſhing in rivers for the preſerving of their 'healths; and that made them receive the 'baptiſmal *immerſion* in rivers and fountains, 'without any ſcruple; and, 'tis probable, 'that on theſe the firſt Chriſtians impoſed the 'names of their ſaints, and religion taught the 'Heathens to change the names of their 'ſprings, and dedicate them to their Chriſtian 'ſaints; which, for their great cures, were 'formerly dedicated to their demons. So '*Virgo*, the famous ſpring at *Rome*, which 'was dedicated to *Diana*, was afterwards 'conſecrated *Divæ Mariæ Virgini*, as the 'learned *Baccius* affirms.'

Though the practice of *immerſion* was now generally diſuſed in *England*, yet there were ſome who were unwilling to part with this laudable and ancient practice.

Ibid. p. 61. 'I have been credibly informed, ſays Sir 'John *Floyer*, by a perſon of quality, who 'had the relation from Mrs. *Shaw*, an anci-'ent midwife; that Sir *Robert Shirly*, in 'king *Charles* I's days, cauſed three of his 'ſons to be *dipped* in the font without any 'prejudice to them: and that one of that ho-'nourable family, who was thus baptized, is 'now living. I mention this, ſays he, to

'ſhew the opinion of ſome in thoſe days, 'who thought that *immerſion* innocent; and 'tis probable, that many others were very 'unwilling to part with this laudable and 'ancient practice of *immerſion*.'

And in another place he ſays, 'That I may 'farther convince all my countrymen, that '*immerſion* in *baptiſm* was very lately left off in '*England*; I will aſſure them, that there are 'yet perſons living who were ſo *immerſed*; 'for I was informed by Mr. *Bertiford*, mini-'ſter of *Stretton* in *Derbyſhire*, that his pa-'rents *immerſed* not only him, but the reſt 'of his family at his *baptiſm*. He is now 'about ſixty ſix years old;' which, by the date of the letter muſt be about the year 1640. Ibid. p. 182.

In another place, ſays Sir *John*, 'A per-'ſon of eighty years old, who was then ve-'ry ſenſible, told me, that in his time he 'could not remember the dipping of infants 'in *England* at their baptiſm, but that his 'father oft ſpoke of it; and farther told him, 'That the parents uſed always at the bap-'tiſm of their children, to deſire the prieſt to 'dip that part very well, in which any diſ-'eaſe uſed to afflict themſelves, to prevent its 'being hereditary.' Ibid. p. 14.

And he aſſerts, That 'it has been a pro-'verbial ſaying amongſt the old people, *That 'if any one complained of any pain in their 'limbs, ſurely that limb had never been dip-'ped in the font*.' Ibid. p. 65.

'The *Welſh*, ſays he, have more lately left '*immerſion*; for ſome middle aged perſons 'have told me, That they could remember 'their *dipping* in *baptiſm*.' And he endea-vours to prove that cuſtom uſeful to the Ibid. p. 14.

Ibid. p. 15. health of infants and others; and ſays, 'That 'it is only a vain fear in the parents, which 'has occaſioned the diſuſe of it; to which the 'Canon 1603, in king *James*'s days, might 'a little contribute, through the miſtake of 'its ſenſe; for there all baptiſm, whether by '*immerſion* or *aſperſion*, is declared valid.'

Thus have I traced the practice of the *Britiſh* churches in the point of baptiſm till ſprinkling took place. And to me it ſeems evident beyond contradiction, that about three hundred years after the firſt plantation of the goſpel in *Britain*, no other baptiſm was uſed but that of *adult perſons*, by immerſion, or dipping the body of the perſon, upon the profeſſion of his faith; and that after the ſubject was changed, and infant baptiſm introduced by a maſſacre of almoſt all that refuſed to comply with the change; yet the *mode of baptiſm* by immerſion continued about twelve hundred years; and though the *mode* be now changed, and ſprinkling has gained the aſcendant, yet I muſt beg of the pædobaptiſt gentlemen (and I doubt not but all the *Engliſh baptiſts* will join with me) to ſhew us, where Chriſt has given to any men or church, a diſpenſation to change his laws and ordinances, or make them void by their traditions, ſeeing they are all, except the *Papiſts*, ready to join with us, in declaring God's word to be our rule in all points of faith and practice, to the end of the world; as I ſhall ſhew in my preface to the next volume.

How doth God complain, by the prophet, of his people of old, for preſuming to change his laws? He gave a particular command, that his altars ſhould be made of earth or

rough

rough ſtone; and reprov'd their horrid tranſgreſſion and diſobedience in acting contrary to his expreſs inſtitution; *A people, ſaith God, that provoke me to anger continually to my face, that ſacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incenſe upon altars of brick.* Iſa. lxv. 3.

I ſhall leave the reader to judge, whether *changing baptiſm*, which God has expreſly commanded to be adminiſtred by dipping believers, on profeſſion of repentance and faith, into that of ſprinkling infants, be not a tranſgreſſion of his precept, in as bad or worſe a manner, than that of building altars of brick, which God himſelf declares was a provoking him continually to his face.

But the *Engliſh Baptiſts* dare not do thus, though the Pædobaptiſts have ſaid much, and they think to little purpoſe, to prove that the word *baptiſm* may be taken in a larger ſenſe than ſtrictly to ſignify immerſion in water; becauſe, unleſs it can be ſhewed from the holy ſcriptures, that the word *baptiſm* was, or may be taken for *ſprinkling* or *pouring* water upon a perſon, as well in the adminiſtration of this ordinance, as in any common uſe, they conceive, there cannot be from thence drawn any ſolid argument for the change of this ſacred rite.

It is true, ſome attempts have been made by gentlemen of great learning towards it; and they have been replied to by the *Baptiſts*. And as far as I can find, in purſuing their hiſtory, they have always had an open ear to conviction, and been a people who love and honour all men fearing God, whether they agree with, or diſagree from them, in their opinion concerning baptiſm. But inſtead of a fair and

candid conviction in a Chriſtian way, it has too much been their lot to be render'd by their opponents, *as odious as they could, and as if they had nothing to ſay for their practice.* Thus the reverend Mr *Neal*, in his *Hiſtory of the Puritans*, a work that is a ſufficient evidence of his great induſtry and good judgment, yet labours under this prejudice againſt the *Baptiſts*; not for want of being better informed, for then ſomething might be ſaid in his excuſe. He ſays, 'The advocates of 'this doctrine were, for the moſt part, of 'the meaneſt of the people; their preachers 'were generally illiterate.'

This Gentleman's candour and juſtice will appear, if we do but compare this with the account Captain *Richard Deane* gave to that worthy prelate Dr. *Barlow*, biſhop of *Lincoln*, of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, in this very time Mr. *Neal* mentions. He ſays, he hopes they will, in his lordſhip's charity (ſo far as their converſation ſuits with their doctrine) be admitted among the number of ſincere Chriſtians: and further, thus expreſſes himſelf.

Letter, p. 7. 'That your lordſhip may make the better 'judgment of the diſciples and ſtate of this 'Sect, concerning whom I write this; I 'crave leave to bring to your remembrance 'ſome of their leaders, and the occaſions 'which prepared the way for the increaſe of 'their numbers.

'About thirty eight years ſince, in the heat 'of our late troubles, *Epiſcopacy being laid 'aſide, and Presbytery* only, as it were by 'way of experiment, for a ſeaſon attempted, 'but never, in a national way proſecuted with 'effect, every man was at liberty to purſue

'the

'the perſuaſions of his own mind, as to en-
'tering into church fellowſhip in diſtinct con-
'gregations, and therein to join with ſuch as
'he conceived came neareſt to the primitive
'pattern in worſhip and diſcipline.

'About that time, ſays he, and a little af-
'ter, there were many miniſters, ſome who
'had been before ordained, and others who
'were admitted to parochial and other pub-
'lick charges. Among whom, of my ac-
'quaintance, were Mr. *Tombes*, ſometime
'preacher at the *Temple*, Mr. *Chriſtopher*
'*Blackwood* in *Kent*, Mr. *Benjamin Cox* at
'*Bedford*, Mr. *Edward Harriſſon*, Mr. *Da-*
'*niel Dyke*, and ſome others in or near *Hert-*
'*fordſhire*, Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, and many
'others, who did openly profeſs, and ſeveral
'of them write, and publiſh their opinions
'concerning the proper ſubject and manner
'of baptiſm. Some of them voluntarily left
'their parochial charges and benefices, as not
'approving the baptizing of infants, and col-
'lected diſtinct congregations of ſuch as a-
'greed with them in this doctrine of baptiſm;
'which, by a ſucceſſion of ordained mini-
'ſters, in the place of ſuch as are dead, re-
'main to this day.'

I ſhall add to this, the names of other worthy Gentlemen who left the practice of *Infant baptiſm*, were themſelves baptized by immerſion, and joined themſelves with the baptized churches, *viz.* *John Harding*, D. D. —— *Duveil*, D. D. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*, Mr. *James Brown*, Mr. *Robert Brown*, Mr. *Henry Jeſſey*, Mr. *Thomas Hardcaſtle*, Mr. *Francis Cornwell*, Mr. *John Goſnold*, Mr. *Henry Denne*, Mr. *Samuel Fiſher*, Mr. *Henry*

Mar-

Morris, Mr. *Richard Claridge*, Mr. *John Keith*, Mr. *Francis Bampfield*, Mr. ——— *Abbot*, Mr. ——— *Seykmare*, Mr. *William Kaye*, Mr. *William Brisco*, Mr. *Henry Forty*, Mr. *Joseph Maisters*, Mr. *Robert Steed*, Mr. ——— *Williams*, Mr. ——— *London*, Mr. *Richard Adams*, Mr. *John Canne*.

These were *Advocates*, who the reverend Mr. *Neal* would have us to esteem, *illiterate, and of the meaneſt of the people*. And if ſo, I hope he will not look upon it as an hard taſk to make a reply to the account which the Captain has given of their judgment and practice (the which I have placed in the *Appendix*, N°. 3.) and the rather, becauſe, in my opinion, all the *Baptiſts* ever ſince have, by their doctrine and converſation atteſted what is aſſerted by this author.

THE

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ERRATA.

PREFACE.

PAGE 37. line 1. for *cowd* read *croud*.

HISTORY.

Page 17. line 10. for *they* read *have*.
— 98. — 1. for *diſtuburbance* r. *diſturbance*.
— 103. — 2. read *in* all.
— 125. — 22. read *to* them.
— 132. — 13. read *of* them.
— 206. — 11. for *he which* r. *which he*.
— 294. — 15. for *from* r. *of*.
— 299. — 21. for *abſured* r. *abſurd*.
— 363. — 29. for *any* r. *an*.

APPENDIX.

Page 24. line 33. for *Trinty* read *Trinity*.

THE HISTORY OF THE English Baptiſts.

CHAP. I.

From the reſtoration of King Charles II. *to the baniſhment of the Earl of* Clarendon *in* 1667.

SAD and melancholy was the ſtate of theſe kingdoms, during the late uſurpation. Whether they were *Papiſts*, *Epiſcopalians*, *Preſbyterians*, *Independants*, or *Baptiſts*, who were the inſtruments made uſe of by Providence to bring about that ſad revolution, is not much material Anno 1660.

to the preſent generation. Tho' great pains have been taken by hiſtorians, to clear the party on whoſe ſide they wrote, from the *odium* thereof, and to fix it upon the reſt; the truth is, in my judgment, they were all in ſome meaſure concern'd in it. This is certain, and beyond contradiction, that the *Preſbyterians* aſſumed the government; and had not Providence in ſo wonderful a manner appeared, and defeated their deſigns, the whole kingdom muſt have ſpeedily conformed, or have felt the ſmart of their government.

BUT becauſe ſome have charged the *Baptiſts*, upon a preſumption, from the favour of *Cromwell* towards them, till his aſſuming the ſupreme power; I ſhall cite the evidence of Capt. *Richard Dean*, who in his letter to Dr. *Barlow*, biſhop of *Lincoln*, having ſpoken of the great increaſe of the *Baptiſts* in the year 1649, ſays: That 'in that time, did this opi-
Edit. 1693, p. 10, &c. 'nion ſpread itſelf alſo into ſome of the 'regiments of horſe and foot in the ar-'my; and that in 1650, and afterwards, 'ſome profeſſing this opinion were called 'from their private employments, and 'preferr'd to commands at ſea. Among 'others, Capt. *Mildmay*, to command 'the Admiral Flagſhip, under the late 'Duke of *Albemarle*, when he was 'one of the generals at ſea. Capt. '*Pack* to command the Flagſhip under

'Sir

'Sir *George Aſcue*, Rear-Admiral; Sir '*John Harman*, to command the Ad-'miral Flagſhip, under his Royal High-'neſs the Duke of *York*.

'BUT notwithſtanding ſome of this 'ſect had that countenance given them, 'as I have mentioned, by ſuch as had 'the principal management of affairs; 'yet this ſect in general, as they have 'publiſh'd in their *Apologies*, were the 'leaſt of any ſort of people concern'd in 'any viciſſitudes of government that hap-'pen'd among us: My ſtation within the 'afore mention'd ten years, gave me op-'portunity to know moſt perſons and 'actions of note, in reference as well to 'civil, as martial affairs, and particular-'ly thoſe of this ſect. And although in 'and after the year 1649, their numbers 'did encreaſe, inſomuch that the princi-'pal officers in divers regiments of horſe 'and foot became *Anabaptiſts*; particu-'larly in *Oliver Cromwell*'s own regiment 'of horſe, when he was Captain-General 'of all the Parliament's forces; and in 'the Duke of *Albemarle*'s own regiment 'of foot when he was General of all the '*Engliſh* forces in *Scotland*: Yet by the beſt 'information I could have, there were not 'at any time, before the year 1649, 'twenty *Anabaptiſts* in any ſort of com-'mand in the whole army; and until 'after the year 1648, there were no more

'than two; *viz.* Mr. *Laurence*, and Mr. 'John *Fiennes*, one of the Lord *Say*'s 'ſons, who made profeſſion of this opi- 'nion, choſen into the Common's Houſe 'of Parliament; and both theſe did in that 'year, and in the life-time of K. *Charles* I. 'as I have been credibly inform'd, vo- 'luntarily depart from that Parliament, 'as not approving their proceedings 'againſt the perſon of the King, and 'ſat no more in it, but liv'd privately 'until about ſix years afterwards, a new 'form of government being then formed, 'and in appearance ſettled, Mr. *Laurence* 'was called again into publick employ- 'ment.

'I CONFESS to your Lordſhip, I ne- 'ver heard of any *Anabaptiſt* in the King's 'army, during the conteſt between his 'Majeſty and the Parliament. And per- 'haps, becauſe there were ſome in the 'Parliament's army, and none in the 'King's army, ſome perſons have from 'thence taken occaſion to affirm, that 'the opinion of Anabaptiſm in the church 'is oppoſite to monarchy in the ſtate. 'It is true, ſays he, as before is men- 'tion'd, that this opinion was no gene- 'ral bar to the continuance of ſuch as 'did embrace it, in publick employment, 'tho' I have cauſe to believe, one ſpecial 'reaſon of diſbanding one entire regiment 'in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s army, was, for

'that

'that the Colonel entertained and gave countenance to *Separatiſts* and ſome *Anabaptiſts*. And that which occaſion'd *Oliver Cromwell*, after he uſurped the government of Lord Protector, to diſcharge at once all the principal officers of his own regiment upon other pretences, was, for that they were all *Anabaptiſts*.' *Colonel* Holmſtead's.

HENCE I think it evidently appears, that the *Baptiſts* were not in power, at the time of the King's death; and that afterwards they were not ſo much in favour with the Protector, who was the chief author of the King's death, as to give any grounds to charge that action upon them.

KING *Charles* II. was receiv'd with the general acclamation of the people. 'At his arrival, ſays *Rapin* [a], the face of '*England* was entirely changed; and 'joy, pleaſures, publick and private rejoicings, ſucceeded to trouble, fear and conſternation. The people were ſo tired of the life they had led for twenty years paſt, that they did not believe it poſſible to be in a worſe ſtate. Every one rejoiced to ſee at laſt a calm, after ſo long a ſtorm; and expected to enjoy a tranquillity, ſought in vain for ſo many years. The *Royaliſts* and *Epiſcopalians* were at once raiſed to the *King* Char. II. *reſtor'd.*

[a] Vol. II. p. 618.

'height of their wiſhes, in beholding *Charles* II. on the throne of his anceſtors, and the church of *England* about to reſume her former luſtre. The *Preſbyterians* flatter'd themſelves, that their late ſervices for the King, would at leaſt procure them an entire liberty of conſcience, and the free exerciſe of their religion. The *Republicans*, *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, could not indeed hope to be reſtor'd to the ſtate, they had enjoy'd ſo many years; but expected at leaſt an intire impunity, agreeably to the *Breda* declaration.' In which was this clauſe [b]: 'And becauſe the paſſion and uncharitableneſs of the times have produc'd ſeveral opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties, and animoſities againſt each other, which, when they ſhall hereafter unite in a freedom of converſation, will be compoſed or better underſtood: We do declare, *a liberty to tender conſciences*; *and that no man ſhall be diſquieted, or called in queſtion, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom*; and that we ſhall be ready, to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation ſhall be offered unto us for the full granting that indulgence.'

[b] Rapin, Vol. II. p. 616.

'THE

'THE *Regicides*, ſays *Rapin* [c], that is, 'the late King's judges, were the only 'perſons, that could not but expect the 'puniſhment they juſtly deſerved. And 'yet, even they deſpaired not of the 'King's clemency, as indeed, ſuch as 'caſt themſelves upon it were not wholly 'diſappointed. It is not therefore ſtrange, 'that the whole kingdom ſhould reſound 'with joyful tranſports, and unite in re-'ceiving with loud acclamations, a King, 'who, according to the general expecta-'tion, was to reſtore the publick tran-'quillity and happineſs, and put all things 'in their natural order.

'AS ſoon as the King was arriv'd in *England* [d], the Aſſembly which from 'the 25th of *April*, had been honoured 'with the name of *Parliament*, was on-'ly called the *Convention*, the King be-'ing unwilling to own for Parliament an 'aſſembly which had not been ſummon-'ed by his writs. But this change of 'name was of no long continuance. Two 'days after his arrival, the King went to 'the Houſe of Lords; where he ſent for 'the Commons, and gave the royal aſſent 'to three acts; the firſt was to change 'the *Convention* into a *Parliament*.' And to prevent all doubts and ſcruples concerning this Parliament, it was enacted; *Stat.* 12. Car. II. *c.* 1.

Declares the Convention a free Parliament.

[c] Rapin, Vol. II. p. 618.
[d] Ib. Vol. II. p. 619.

That the Lords and Commons, then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, were the two Houſes of Parliament, and ſo ſhould be declar'd and adjudg'd to be, notwithſtanding any want of the King's writs of ſummons.

THIS Parliament began with the act of *indemnity*: And the Commons in an addreſs preſented to the King, declar'd, they accepted the gracious pardon offer'd by his Majeſty in his declaration from *Breda*, with reference to the excepting of ſuch as ſhould be excepted in an act of pardon. The Lords likewiſe, ſays *Rapin* [e], preſented a petition of the like import.

Publiſhes a proclamation.

IMMEDIATELY after, the King publiſh'd a proclamation; declaring, that all ſuch of the late King's judges, as did not ſurrender themſelves within fourteen days, ſhould be abſolutely excluded from the general pardon. In conſequence of this proclamation, twenty of them voluntarily ſurrendred themſelves; others withdrew out of the kingdom, and ſome were taken in attempting to eſcape. During the adjournment of the Parliament [f], the King appointed commiſſioners for trial of the *Regicides*. The number of thoſe concern'd in the late King's death, as judges, officers of the court of juſtice and others, amounted to fourſcore and one; of whom

The Regicides tried.

[e] Rapin, Vol. II. p. 619.
[f] Ib. Vol. II. p. 621.

twenty

twentyfive were dead, *nineteen* had made their eſcape; *ſeven* others, for having been leſs engaged in the crime, were thought worthy of the King's clemency; and *twentynine* were condemn'd to die, *ten* only were executed; the reſt were pardoned as to life; but reſerv'd for other penalties, as impriſonment, baniſhment, and forfeiture of eſtate. Of thoſe that were executed, ſays *Rapin*, they were almoſt all *Anabaptiſts*, *Enthuſiaſts*, *Fifth Monarchy-men*, &c. *And ſome executed.*

I DO not find that any of the King's judges were *Baptiſts*, except Major-General *Harriſon*; and if there were more of them ſuch, it reflects no more *odium* on the profeſſion of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, than on the other denominations to which the reſt belonged. But it is eaſy to ſee the partiality of *Rapin* towards the Diſſenters, who were not of his own profeſſion. And I believe none will deny the difficulties that muſt conſequently attend thoſe, be their profeſſion of religion what it will, when they are under the power of them, who have the ſword of government in their hands. *Major Gen.* Harriſon.

MR. *Baxter* records the Major as an *Anabaptiſt*; and yet acknowledges, that he was a man of excellent natural parts for affection and oratory: And further tells us, that *Cromwell*, when he thought himſelf well ſettled in his Protectorſhip, began *Life*, Part I. p. 57. *Ib.* p. 74.

began to undermine the *Sectarians*, of whom Mr. *Harriſon* he ſays, was become the head and tho' *Cromwell*; had often ſpoken for the *Anabaptiſts*, he deſign'd now to ſettle himſelf in the people's favour by ſuppreſſing them. Hereupon Mr. *Harriſon* was by him made contemptible, who, but yeſterday, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, thought himſelf not much below him.

THE controverſy between him and the ſtate is a point too tender to be touch'd upon. But his behaviour under his ſufferings, publiſh'd in the year 1660, ſhews him to be a man of great piety, and one who believ'd in his conſcience he was not culpable: Nor did he upon his trial attempt to evade any thing he was charg'd with, but own'd his hand to the warrant for convening the *High Court of Juſtice*, and alſo to that for execution of the ſentence againſt the King. 'I do not come, 'ſays he, to be denying any thing, that 'in my own judgment and conſcience I 'have done or committed, but rather to 'be bringing it forth to the light.' And in his defence he ſaid, he had two things to offer to the court in matter of law. One is ſays he, 'That this, that hath been 'done, was done by a *Parliament* of '*England*, by the Commons of *England* 'aſſembled in *Parliament*; and that be-'ing ſo, whatever was done by their 'commands, or their authority, is not 'queſ-

Trial of the Regicides, p. 54.

Ib. p. 59.

'queſtionable by your *Lordſhip's*, as be-
'ing, as I humbly conceive, a power in-
'ferior to that of an *High Court* of *Par-*
'*liament.*' That's one. A ſecond is this;
'That what therefore any did in obedi-
'ence to that power and authority, they
'are not to be queſtion'd for it; other-
'wiſe we are in a moſt miſerable condi-
'tion, bound to obey them that are in
'authority, and yet to be puniſh'd if obey'd.
'We are not to judge what is lawful or
'what is unlawful. My *Lords*, upon
'theſe two points I do deſire, that thoſe
'that are learned in the laws may ſpeak
'to on my behalf. It concerns all my
'countrymen. There are caſes alike to
'this, you know in King *Richard* IId's
'time; wherein ſome queſtion had been,
'of what had been done by a *Parlia-*
'*ment*; and what follow'd upon it, I
'need not urge in it. I hope it will
'ſeem good to you, that *Councel* may be
'aſſign'd; for it concerns all my country-
'men.'

THERE are ſome circumſtances attend- *Sir* Rob. Tichborne.
ing the conduct of Sir *Robert Tichborne*'s family, reſpecting the baptiſm of his grand-children, which may give ſome ground to ſuſpect that Sir *Robert* was a Baptiſt, tho' I do not find it recorded in any books I have perus'd. However it appears, that he was a man of ſtrict piety, an excel-

lent

lent magiſtrate, and one that aim'd at the publick good.

IN his book intitled, a *Cluſter of Canaan's Grapes*, licenſed by Mr. *Joſeph Caryll*, and printed in the year 1649, when he is proving, that love to all ſaints ſhews union with Chriſt; it plainly appears that he was againſt the *Preſbyterian* eſtabliſhment. For he thus expreſſes himſelf: p. 11. 'If the world, like itſelf, be froward to us, we can ſoon be ſenſible and complain of it; when at the ſame time we, *altogether unlike ſaints*, are froward, and become thorns in the ſides of our brethren; and can ſooner ſay, 'tis impoſſible to be otherwiſe, than complain of our baſe hearts. And, ſays he, with an index in the margin, *I may juſtly fear, that many a ſoul, which but few years ſince would creep into corners with other ſaints, to complain to God of the injuſtice and unkindneſs of the world to them; yet now their feet have been out of the ſtocks, are become the firſt that lift up their hands againſt their brethren.*' And further adds, 'Perſecution is ſuch a foreigner to heaven, that I may ſafely ſay, whatever brings it into a perſon or a nation never came from God; and it will beget a pale countenance at the day of death, when conſcience ſhall witneſs, that ſaints have

'done

'done that to ſaints, which they judg'd 'unjuſt from the world to them.'

WHETHER Sir *Robert* was a *Baptiſt* or not, my long and intimate acquaintance with the family, and the reſpect I bear to them, having been both an eye and ear witneſs of ſome inſults on them upon his account, will not permit me to paſs him, without ſome further notice.

WHEN he was before his judges, he declared, it was his unhappineſs to be called to ſo ſad a work, and that he could ſay with a clear conſcience, he had no more enmity in his heart to his Majeſty, than he had to his wife that lay in his boſom; and ſo pleaded *guilty* to his indictment. The council replied thus; 'We ſhall give no evidence againſt the 'priſoner; he ſays he did it ignorantly: 'and I hope and do believe he is peni- 'tent; and as far as the Parliament thinks 'fit to ſhew mercy, I ſhall be very glad.' *Trial of the regicides, p. 293.*

IT is recorded of him by the author *of his caſe*, that he was of an honeſt and genteel parentage in the city of *London*; a linnendraper, anciently deſcended from a worſhipful family, well eſteem'd and honoured, no picque, blemiſh, or ſtain upon them, his growth and education advancing him alike, to be ſoon a man, which put him very early into action. He ſoon became *Captain* over a foot company in the trained-bands. This he diſcharged abroad *His parentage.*

abroad with valour and diſcretion; and at home with courteſy, his enemies bearing him witneſs. During the war he aſcended the ſeveral ſteps of military honours in order; made *Colonel* of a regiment, and for a time *Lieutenant* of the tower; not taxed by them whom he ſerved with any baſeneſs or deficiency.

Made Sheriff of London. *p.* 7.

HE was made *Sheriff* of *London* in the year 1650. And, ſays the author *of his caſe*, 'During his ſeſſion and continu-'ance in the court of *Aldermen*, betwixt 'his *ſhreivalty* and *maioralty*, he perform-'ed the office of a good citizen, to com-'mon juſtice. Many can bear him wit-'neſs of much uprightneſs and integrity 'manifeſted by him in private buſineſſes, 'the deciſion whereof being referred to 'committees of *aldermen* (of which very 'ſeldom, but he was one, thro' the ſenſe 'that court had of his abilities) he al-'ways juſtly and impartially accommo-'dated; and envy her ſelf cannot ſpeak 'leſs, but gratitude —— would ſpeak 'more.

Lord Mayor.

'WE will take a full view of him in 'this his next dignity, the ſupreme ma-'giſtracy of the *city*, as *Lord-maior* of 'London. And we uſe to ſay, *magiſ-'tratus indicat virum*; but here, *vir in-'dicat magiſtratum*; very few perſons that 'arrived at this honour, after a full ripe-'neſs of years, and digeſtion of a long

'obſer-

'observation of cuſtom and manners, go-
'verned the *city* better, nor revived
'more wholeſome laws, and reduced
'things methodically to their firſt ſtate;
'the ſevereſt puniſher of fraud and in-
'juſtice, a moſt rigid exactor of all dues
'and rights belonging to the *city*; keep-
'ing a conſtant inquiſition of all the
'abuſes and treſpaſſes committed or ſuf-
'fered on its privileges; neither favour
'nor affection, as we uſe to ſay, making
'him to connive at ſuch unlawful prac-
'tices.'

HE was not againſt the reſtoration of the King; but ſtood ſtill, and engaged in no new deſigns, counſels, or practices, to withſtand that bleſſed work, but with all ſubmiſſion and patience expected the reſults of providence. There were few of that temper and moderation in that critical juncture of time, who yet were in leſs danger than himſelf; which afterwards amounted to a confidence of ſurrendering himſelf, according to the proclamation, and putting himſelf within the danger of the law. *Surrenders himſelf.*

WHAT he did as a member of the *committee of ſafety*, was rather of neceſſity than choice. And doubtleſs had he had that ſtate inſight, he might have taken hold on occaſion's foretop, and redeemed himſelf by ſome ſignal ſeaſonable demon-

demonſtration of *loyalty*, as well as others in the ſame predicament.

p. 11. 'HOW he behaved himſelf, ſaith the 'author *of his caſe*, as to his impriſon-'ment in that place where he once com-'manded, with all humility and fair car-'riage, the noble Sir *John Robinſon*, and 'his *warders* and *officers*, will give him 'a ſufficient and good character. At that 'late ſtrange, and rebellious inſurrection 'in the *city* by the *Fifth Monarchiſts*, he 'profeſſed an utter deteſtation thereof, 'and not ſo much for the butchery and 'murder committed, as that the peace 'of the kingdom was thereby endan-'gered, by ſuch a riotous wicked attempt. 'The danger and ſcandal brought by it 'on him and his fellow-ſufferers, to the 'acceleration of their ends, he weighed 'not ſo much; being reſolved either liv-'ing or dying to pray for the proſperity 'of the King's government.

'HE hath continued ever ſince his firſt 'reſtraint a moſt ſtrict, auſtere, and mor-'tified life, without any grudgings or re-'pinings at theſe his ſad diſpenſations; 'bearing with an even mind the loſs of 'a conſiderable eſtate, beſides ſundry diſ-'comforts in his near relations grieving 'exceſſively at his condition. And a 'deeper wound can hardly be given to a 'man in miſery: ſo falls it out in the 'extreams of ſorrow, that even our friends

'invo-

'involuntarily ſhall contribute to the load 'of it.'

IN the many volumes I have peruſed, I do not find many *Engliſh Baptiſts* acting in high *magiſtratical ſtations*. But when it has ſo happened, they have appeared to be men of ſtrict juſtice, great humility, and ſuch as aimed at the publick good, not enriching themſelves by the benefits of their *high ſtations*. It is obſerved of this great and good gentleman, that notwithſtanding the ſeveral rich *places* and *offices* he went through during the *uſurpation*, his wealth did not anſwer the ſum requir'd to a *Lord-Mayor*'s eſtate; and that his conſtant affability, and humility, was ſufficient to convince all men that he was not arrogant.

THE King publiſh'd a proclamation concerning Religion, containing eight articles; moſt of which preſcribed certain rules to the Biſhops, in the exerciſe of their ſpiritual juriſdiction. The two laſt deſerve a particular notice, becauſe they diſcover, that the Diſſenters were not like to continue long undiſturb'd. *A proclamation concerning religion.*

'THE ſeventh ran, ſays *Rapin* *, that 'a certain number of Divines ſhould be 'appointed to reviſe the Liturgy, and 'make ſuch alterations in it, as ſhould 'be judg'd neceſſary; and that *ſcrupu-*

* Vol. II. p. 261.

'*lous perſons* ſhould not be puniſh'd or 'troubled for not uſing it, at preſent.'

'THE eighth was, concerning *cere-* '*monies*; to which for the preſent, no 'perſon ſhould be oblig'd to conform.'

ABOUT this time was publiſh'd by the *General Baptiſts*, a brief confeſſion or declaration of faith, ſubſcrib'd by certain Elders, Deacons, and Brethren met at *London*, in behalf of themſelves and many others unto whom they belong, in *London* and in ſeveral counties of this nation, who were of the ſame faith with them.

IT was preſented to, and approv'd of by his Majeſty: And the ſame was reprinted at *London*, in the year 1691, with the addition of ſome names thereunto. I have plac'd it in the *Appendix*, N° IV.

THE great encreaſe of the *Baptiſts*, ſtirr'd up their enemies to reproach and villify them, and to render them odious to the government. They are generally charg'd, as a people whoſe principles tended to the deſtruction of the civil power: But I do not find, that their enemies were ever able to produce any thing upon which they could juſtly found ſuch a charge. Indeed, I have receiv'd from the Rev^d. Mr. *Calamy*, a declaration ſign'd but by three perſons, who apologize for their paucity, and are very zealous againſt *bearing of arms*, and *taking an oath*, and ſeem to be not pleas'd with

their

their brethren, for not being of their judgments in these points. They are so far from opposing magistracy, that if the greatest zealots for *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, had been of their judgment, King *James* II. might quietly have kept his throne, and impos'd what religion and laws he had pleas'd upon these kingdoms. I have plac'd their declaration in the *Appendix*, N° V.

ON the 26th of *July* 1660, was presented to the King a petition, with a narrative and complaint, and the confession of faith of sundry honest and well-dispos'd *Baptists*; the messengers whereof, by the assistance of an honourable Member of Parliament, were procur'd to deliver the same into his Majesty's own hand; to which he was pleas'd to return a most gracious answer. Part of this narration and complaint, which may suffice to shew the innocency of the complainants, and the cruelty of their persecutors, is recorded by Mr. *Jessey*, and is as followeth:

The Lord's loud Call to England, *p.* 15.

May it please you, &c.

'BEING commanded thereto by the Lord, we have met often together, to acquaint each other, what God hath done, doth daily, and will do for our souls, and what therefore, we

'ought to do towards him, each other, 'and all men.

'FROM which aſſemblings, O King! 'we have been diſcharg'd by ſome in 'magiſtratical capacity in theſe parts; al-'though therein, we bleſs God, none 'hath ever found us with multitude or 'with tumult. But being taught of God 'to obey him in the things by him com-'manded, rather than man, though in 'the place of magiſtracy, when com-'manding things contrary; we therefore 'durſt not receive that diſcharge. Where-'fore ſome of us have been ſilenc'd from 'making mention of the name of the 'Lord, as formerly, by being intangled 'in bonds, pretendedly impos'd upon us 'for this good behaviour. To which in 'our innocency we readily yielded; be-'ing bound to the good behaviour in 'conſcience, we fear'd not to be bound 'thereto by law. But ſuch is the ſad 'eſtate of this generation, that *they call 'good evil, and evil good*; with ſorrow 'we ſpeak it; taking their advantage a-'gainſt us, in our ſerving the Lord. Up-'on account of the condition of theſe obli-'gations, accounting us, O King! peace-'breakers, when in the ſincerity of our 'hearts, and innocency of our ſouls, we 'peaceably meet to worſhip our God in his 'fear, we affirm it. Since thus entangl'd, 'O King! we have been much abus'd as

'we

'we paſs in the ſtreets, and as we ſit in
'our houſes; being threatned to be
'hang'd, if but heard praying to the
'Lord in our families, and diſturb'd in
'our ſo waiting upon God, by uncivil
'beating at our doors, and ſounding of
'horns; yea, we have been ſton'd, when
'going to our meetings, the windows of
'the place where we have been met,
'ſtruck down with ſtones, yea, taken
'as evil-doers, and impriſon'd, when
'peaceably met together to worſhip the
'Moſt High, in the uſe of his moſt pre-
'cious ordinances. We have, O King!
'ſpread theſe things before them in au-
'thority in theſe parts, but can have no Lincoln-
'redreſs from them; but the rage of our ſhire.
'adverſaries hath been augmented, by
'hearing us abus'd by ſome of them in
'open court, who ſat on the bench of
'juſtice, under the odious terms of *knaviſh*, *juggling*, *impudent*, *and phanatick fellows*, &c. And as if all this were too
'little, they have, to fill up their mea-
'ſure, very lately indicted many of us at
'the *Seſſions*; and intend, as we are in-
'form'd, to impoſe on us the penalty of
'*twenty pounds per month*, for not com-
'ing to hear ſuch men, as they provide
'us, of whoſe principles and practices,
'we could give a moſt ſad and doleful, yet,
'O King! a moſt true relation, *&c.*'

THIS was ſign'd by thirty five men, in the behalf of many others.

THE ſubſtance of the King's anſwer to the meſſengers, that were ſent with this narration and petition was this: 'That 'it was not his mind, that any of his 'good ſubjects who liv'd peaceably, 'ſhould ſuffer any trouble upon the ac-'count of their judgments, or opinions 'in point of religion; and that he had 'declar'd the ſame in ſeveral declarations. 'He promiſed us alſo, ſay they, upon 'our declaring our grievances, that he 'would have particular care over us, that 'none ſhould trouble us upon the account 'of our conſciences in things pertaining to 'religion. And while we were preſent 'before him, he order'd an honourable 'Member of Parliament to go to the Lord *Chancellor* and *Secretary*, and get ſome-'thing done to that purpoſe. The 'Member of Parliament promis'd he 'would do as the King had order'd him.'

The petition and repreſentation of the Baptiſts *in* Maidſtone *goal.*

IN this year alſo was publiſh'd, *The humble petition and repreſentation of the ſufferings of ſeveral peaceable and innocent ſubjects, call'd by the name of* Anabaptiſts, *inhabitants of the county of* Kent, *and priſoners in the goal of* Maidſtone, *for the teſtimony of a good conſcience*; and was as followeth:

To

'*To his Majeſty* Charles II. *King of* Eng-
'land, Scotland, France *and* Ireland,
'*and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

'*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

'FORASMUCH as by authority
'deriv'd from yourſelf, ſeveral of
'us your ſubjects, inhabitants in the coun-
'ty of *Kent*, are now impriſon'd; it
'therefore much concerns thee, O King!
'to hear what account we give of our
'preſent diſtreſs'd condition. Thou haſt
'already ſeen our *Confeſſion of Faith*,
'wherein our peaceable reſolutions were
'declar'd. We have not violated any
'part thereof, that ſhould cauſe that *li-*
'*berty* promis'd from *Breda* to be with-
'drawn. And now for our principles,
'that moſt particularly relate to magiſ-
'trates and government, we have with
'all clearneſs laid them before thee;
'humbly beſeeching they may be read
'patiently, and what we ſay weighed in
'the ballance of the ſanctuary; and then
'judge how worthy we are either of
'bonds or impriſonment. And this we
'the more earneſtly deſire, becauſe not
'only our own lives are in danger, but
'alſo an irreſiſtable deſtruction cometh on
'our wives and little ones, by that vio-

'lence which is now exercis'd on us. Disdain not our plainneſs of ſpeaking, ſeeing the great God accepts of the like. And now, O King! that all thy proceedings, both towards us and all men, may be ſuch as may be pleaſing unto the Eternal God, in whoſe hands your, and our breath is, who e'er long will judge both quick and dead; according to their works, is the prayers of thy faithful ſubjects and ſervants,

'The priſoners in the goal of '*Maidſtone*, for the teſtimony of a good conſcience.'

THEN follows, their free and faithful acknowledgment of the King's authority and dignity in civil things, over all manner of perſons eccleſiaſtical and civil, within his Majeſty's dominions. Where-
P. 5. in they thus complain: 'We, thy impri-'ſon'd ſubjects, have ſome of us, had our 'houſes broken open in the dead of the 'night, without producing any authori-'ty from thee, or any inferior miniſter 'under thee; our goods and cattle taken 'away from ſome others, and yet detain-'ed from us; our bodies, ſome taken 'from our own dwellings, and others from 'our peaceable meetings, and made pri-'ſoners; and this done unto many of us,

'ſome

'ſome days before thy proclamation was
'publiſh'd; which proceedings doth bring
'great diſtreſs and ruin to ourſelves and
'families.'

THEN follows their reaſons for meriting the King's protection, in their ſpiritual and civil rights, equal with other his Majeſty's obedient ſubjects. After which they ſay: 'From all that we have P. 13.
'ſaid, Thou, O King! mayſt ſee, that
'not without grounds do we deny the
'taking the oath of thy ſupremacy, which
'calls for obedience, as well in ſpiritual
'and eccleſiaſtical things and cauſes, as
'temporal; not but that we can freely
'acknowledge thee to be ſupreme go-
'vernor of all perſons, as well eccleſiaſ-
'tical as temporal, but ſtill in temporal
'cauſes and things.'

THEY conclude thus: 'And now hav- P. 15.
'ing faithfully laid our condition and prin-
'ciples, ſo far as they relate to *magiſtrates*
'or *government*, before thee. We there-
'fore beſeech thee, O King! that liberty
'may be given us to worſhip our God;
'and ſuch bowels of compaſſion be in
'thee, as to give us ſuch ſpeedy relief,
'as may be agreeable to the mind of
'God, *Which made heaven and earth,* *Pſa.* cxlvi.
'*which executed judgment for the oppreſ-* 7.
'*ſed, which giveth food to the hungry: the*
'*Lord looſeth the priſoners.*'

SIGNED

SIGNED by us in the name of the *Baptiſts*, now *priſoners* in the goal at *Maidſtone*.

William Jeffery.
George Hammon.
John Reve.
James Blackmore.

Vavaſor Powel *impriſon'd.*

IN this year Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*, a famous *Baptiſt* Miniſter, well known to be an able and painful Preacher of the Goſpel, in a great part of *North* and *South-Wales*, 'Was, ſays Mr. *Jeſſey*, ſeiz'd 'upon, and impriſon'd in *Shrewſbury*, 'and many of his friends in ſeveral *Nor-*'*thern* counties in *Wales*; and not for 'any crime committed by him or them; 'yea, and divers of their houſes plun-'der'd by ſoldiers, ſhewing no warrant 'for their proceedings therein.'

Lord's loud Call, p. 13.

Jenkin Jones *and others impriſon'd.*

ALSO in *South-Wales*, Mr. *Jenkin Jones*, another *Baptiſt* Miniſter, with ſome of the congregation, were impriſon'd; as appears by a letter wrote to Mr. *Jeſſey*, *June* 29, 1660, from Mr. *Tho. Guin*, who had been a Gentleman Cavalier in *Wales*, but was converted under the miniſtry of the ſaid Mr. *Jones*, and became a member of his Church, and a ſufferer with him for the truth of the Goſpel. Part of this letter Mr. *Jeſſey* publiſh'd, And is as followeth:

Lord's loud Call, p. 14.

'SOME

'SOME of our brethren were for a 'month's ſpace impriſon'd in *Caermar-* 'then, merely becauſe they would not 'forego their meetings, and join with 'them again in their traditional worſhip, 'from whom the Lord had ſeparated 'them. They bore their teſtimony ſo 'full, and their ſufferings ſo patiently 'and chearfully, that we have much 'cauſe to bleſs the Lord for his gracious 'and tender dealings towards them. Their 'converſation was ſuch, that made thoſe 'that threw ſtones at them, and ſhouted 'when they were brought thither, part 'with them with tears, confeſſing they 'ſuffer'd for *well-doing*, and judg'd them 'happy therein. I ſuppoſe the Lord was 'more glorified by them, in thoſe ſuffer- 'ings, than by any one thing, which 'happen'd ſince I came to underſtand 'any thing of his particular dealings 'with his people. They had his pro- 'miſes in an ample manner fulfill'd un- 'to them, and his preſence very fre- 'quent, glorious and powerful. This 'tended much to the ſtrengthning of 'others, to endure the like trials, if call'd 'unto it by the wiſe Diſpoſer of all 'things.'

GREAT were the ſufferings of the *Baptiſts* in *Gloceſterſhire*. The moſt eminent Cavaliers, imbitter'd perſecutors, rode about arm'd with ſwords and piſtols; ran-

The ſufferings of the Baptiſts *in* Gloceſterſhire.

ranſack'd their houſes, and abus'd their families in a violent manner. Mr. *Jeſſey* has publiſh'd part of many letters ſent to him, ſetting forth the hard uſage, and great perſecutions that befel the people of God in that county; more particularly thoſe of the *Baptiſt* perſuaſion; as will appear by a letter from the houſe of a godly ſtrict *Preſbyterian*: Which ſays;

Lord's loud Call, p. 21.

'That they of that family, as others 'fearing the Lord, were as a beacon on 'a hill, and under great reproach, ac-'counted not worthy to live, and count-'ed as *Elias* was by *Ahab*, *troublers of* '*Iſrael*, troublers of the place they liv'd 'in, with other ſuch like aſperſions, 'counting them *Anabaptiſts* and *Quakers*, 'and were in fear of being plunder'd 'therefore.'

The houſes of ſeveral perſons ranſack'd.

IN a letter wrote to Mr. *Jeſſey*, *April* 3, 1660. it is ſaid, that the houſes of Captain *Crofts*, Mr. *Palmer* of *Barton*, Mr. *Helme* of *Winchcombe*, and many o-

Ib. p. 17. thers, were ranſack'd for arms. 'It ſo 'fell out, ſays the writer of the letter, 'that Mr. *Helme* not being at home, on 'the 6th day of the laſt week, they came 'to his houſe, ranſacked his trunks, ſtudy, 'and all his goods, for arms, not ſpar-'ing the bed whereon his children lay, 'to their great affrightment, being in bed. 'One of them held up his piſtol to ſtrike 'Mrs. *Helme*, having given her moſt un-

civil

'civil language; ſo that the terrour hath 'brought upon her a very ſore diſtem-'per, and brought her nigh unto death. 'They drink the King's health ſtoutly, 'and rage againſt any that have the face 'of godlineſs; and not only ſoldiers, but 'the people who had long obſcured their 'malice to the people of God, are now 'confident, and act barbarouſly. Take 'two late examples. One was of Mr. 'Warren, a miniſter in the county, who 'upon the ejection of a malignant (as 'then that denomination was given men) 'was put into the parſonage of *Rencome*; 'upon this new encouragement, the ſaid 'ejected miniſter (one Mr. *Broade*) brake 'in with a company of rude companions 'into the parſonage houſe, penned up 'Mr. *Warren*, and his wife and family 'into an upper room; ſo diſtreſſing and 'afflicting the poor man, night and day, 'making a noiſe with hautboys, ſo that 'he died in the place. His blood will 'cry. Another was one Mr. *Fletcher*, a 'godly man, who lately came out of *New-*'*England*, being put into a vacant place 'by authority, a rude cavalier in the pa-'riſh came in upon him in his houſe, 'beat him and uſed him very inhumanly, 'threatned to cut off his head with a bill, 'which one of them carried; at laſt, af-'ter much vile carriage, one took his 'coat and carpet off his table, and marched

Mr. Warren perſecuted to death.

Mr. Fletcher and his family forced to fly for their lives.

'with

'with them in the ſtreets on the top of 'a bill, ſo that the poor man and his 'family are fled for their lives.

Lord's loud Call, p. 19.

IN another letter of *April* 19. it is ſaid, 'Since my laſt letter, the perſe-'cution in theſe parts breaks out more 'and more. Laſt week there was a godly *Mr.* Finch *abuſed and impriſoned.* 'miniſter ſorely injured, as he was en-'tring the pulpit to preach; and the 'ſame week, another was violently pulled 'out of his houſe, his wife, and children 'and goods, thrown into the ſtreet by 'the rude multitude; none of the pariſh 'daring to give them entertainment; the 'former ejected notorious perſon, getting 'again into poſſeſſion, where he trium-'phantly abides without controul, and 'ſome rudely haling the poor miniſter 'thus abuſed to the *goal*, as they ſaid 'they would.'

THERE are part of ſeveral other letters publiſhed in the ſame treatiſe, confirming the aforeſaid account of the ſufferings of theſe people in *Gloceſterſhire*. To which I refer the reader for his fuller ſatisfaction: and ſhall take notice, of ſome notable rebukes to the enemies of theſe poor perſecuted people, recorded by the ſaid Mr. *Jeſſey*.

Some remarkable rebukes on perſecutors.

Lord's loud Call, p. 29.

ON the day of the King's proclamation at *Waltham* near *Theobalds*, in the evening there was a bonefire made to expreſs

preſs the people's joy. A cooper who was preſent 'ſwore and tore, and ſtruck the 'ground, and ſaid, now have at the *Ana-baptiſts*. Now as the fire burned he 'took a faggot, and ſaid, here is a round 'head, and caſt it into the fire which 'burn'd; and then took another faggot, 'and ſaid, here is an *Anabaptiſt*, and 'that burn'd, &c. But the Lord ſtruck 'him that night, ſo that he never ſaw 'the morning. Atteſted by ſeveral of the 'ſame town. *On a cooper.*

'MR. O—— a miniſter, in his ſer-'mon uſing many hard ſpeeches againſt 'thoſe peaceable people there, that he 'call'd *Anabaptiſts*, there being many 'ſuch there at that time: Even whilſt 'he was preaching in that manner, fell 'into a ſwoon, and was ſpeechleſs, as 'one dead for about two hours, and it 'was fear'd he would never have reco-'ver'd out of it. At a meeting (at *Bro-'kington* in *Glocesterſhire*, *June* 3, 1660,) 'were many met; *B. Collet* and *B. Col-'lings*, gifted brethren, from *Burton* on 'the water, and divers others thence, and 'from *Stow*, and other places. It was 'rumour'd about that ſome of the coun-'ty troop would then come and ſeize up-'on them, and impriſon ſome and rout 'them all. The *Clerk*'s daughter came 'with her mother, who had oppos'd and 'revil'd them, uttering hard ſpeeches a-'gainſt *On Mr. O--- a miniſter.* *Lord's loud Call*, p. 8. *Ib.* p. 3. *On the Clerk's daughter at* Brokington.

'gainſt them, and their meetings, and 'ways; and theſe two ſtood by in a 'corner. When they came, *B. Collet* 'was ſpeaking upon *Jude* 14 and 15 'verſes, with much affection, upon theſe 'words, *Behold the Lord cometh, with ten 'thouſand of his ſaints to execute judgment 'upon all, and to convince all that are un-'godly amongſt them, of all their ungod-'ly deeds, which they have ungodly com-'mitted, and of all their hard ſpeeches, 'which ungodly ſinners have ſpoken againſt 'him.* Whilſt he was preaching upon 'theſe words, the hand of the Lord of 'Hoſts went out againſt that *daughter*, 'as it appear'd; for ſhe gave a ſudden 'great ſhriek, and fell down dead before 'them all. Thoſe that were about her 'rubb'd and chaf'd her for her reſtoring; 'but there was no appearance of life at 'all. *B. Collet* was much affected with 'this hand of the Lord, and look'd pale, 'being of a very tender ſpirit. *B. Col-'lings* ſeeing it, was about to ſeek the 'Lord for raiſing her up again; but her '*mother*, being much out of patience, hin-'der'd their prayers for her; and ſhe ne-'ver recover'd. As ſome were carrying 'her corps out, Mr. *H*—— met them, 'who led that party of the troop; and he 'came in, and would have them away '*priſoners*; and he charg'd them with 'the death of the *maid*, that they had

'kill'd

'kill'd her. *B. Collings* anſwer'd to this 'effect, *Nay, we have not kill'd her; but 'the Moſt High hath done it, in whoſe 'hand is both your breath and ours.* Af-'ter he had pull'd the ſpeakers towards 'the door, and ſpoke more to them, he 'and the ſoldiers left them. Since this 'time the *Clerk* hath ſpoke well of that 'people; ſaying, *theſe are the people of 'God.*'

I SHALL add but one inſtance more from this author, of this kind; and that is a flagrant one; for the ſufferings and hardſhips of the Diſſenters in general, were made a *jeſt* upon the ſtage at *Oxford*, and became the ſubject of their ſport and laughter.

'THERE was a play acted by *ſcho-'lars*, wherein *one* acted the *Old Puri-'tan*. He that acted that part, came in 'with a narrow band, ſhort hair, and a 'broad hat; a boiſterous fellow comes 'after him, and trips up his heels, call-'ing him *Puritan Rogue*; at which 'words, the *Old Puritan* ſhook off the 'dirt of his feet againſt him. Two of 'theſe actors were alſo cut off, and he 'that acted the *Old Puritan* broke a vein, 'and vomited ſo much blood in the 'place, that they thought he would have 'died in the room; but he now lieth deſ-'parately ſick. This is all very true. Al-'ſo

Lord's loud Call, p. 1, 2.

On the players at Oxford.

'ſo a woman, that join'd with them in 'their play, is dead.

'THE year 1661, ſays *Rapin* *, was 'uſher'd in by an extraordinary event. 'The 6th of *January*, while the King 'was attending the Queen-mother, and 'the Princeſs his ſiſter to *Dover*, in their 'return to *France*; about fifty of theſe 'men (fifth-monarchy-men) under the
Venner's rebellion.
'conduct of one *Thomas Venner*, aſſembled 'in the evening in St. *Paul*'s church-yard, 'and kill'd a man, who upon demand, 'had anſwer'd, *for God and the King*. 'This giving an alarm to the *city*, ſome 'train'd-bands were ſent againſt them, 'whom theſe men quickly routed; and 'then march'd through ſeveral ſtreets, and 'at laſt retir'd to *Cane-wood*, betwixt '*Highgate* and *Hampſtead*; from whence 'a party of horſe and foot, ſent by Gene-'ral *Monk*, diſlodg'd them, and took ſome 'priſoners. But this did not prevent the 'reſt from returning to the *city*, where 'they fought furiouſly, till they were 'oblig'd to take ſanctuary in an houſe. 'They there defended themſelves like 'men fearleſs of death, or rather, as ſe-'cure from all danger, under the protec-'tion of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Here it was that '*Venner* being wounded, and twenty of 'his men kill'd, with as many of the aſ-'ſailants, was taken with the reſt of his

* Vol. II. *p.* 623.

'fel-

'fellows. A few days after they were 'all tried, condemn'd and executed, with-'out any confeſſion of guilt, and perſiſt-'ing in their extravagancies to the laſt; 'two young men only ſhew'd ſome ſigns 'of repentance.'

THE King took occaſion from this inſurrection to publiſh a proclamation, forbidding all *meetings* and *conventicles* under pretence of religion, and commanding the oath of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy* to be tendred to all perſons diſaffected to the government, and in caſe of refuſal, they were to be proſecuted on the ſtatute of the 7th of *James* I. *A proclamation againſt meetings.*

THE *Engliſh Baptiſts* preſently after this inſurrection, publiſh'd two *Apologies*, wherein they proteſted both againſt the principles and practices of that rebellious party, and are as followeth:

The humble Apology of ſome commonly call'd Anabaptiſts, *in behalf of themſelves, and others of the ſame judgment with them; with their proteſtation againſt the late wicked, and moſt horrid treaſonable inſurrection and rebellion, acted in the city of* London; *together with an Apology, formerly preſented to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.* *Apology of the* Engliſh Baptiſts.

Printed at London *in the year* 1660.

'WE ſhould be ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, if we did not deeply re-

'ſent thoſe black obloquies and re-
'proaches caſt upon thoſe of our profeſ-
'ſion and practice in the point of Bap-
'tiſm, by occaſion of the late moſt hor-
'rid treaſon and rebellion in this *city* of
'*London*.

'WE moſt ſadly ſee, and feel, that
'among many it is become enough to
'render any man criminal to be call'd
'an *Anabaptiſt*; or at leaſt a ground ſuf-
'ficient, to queſtion his loyalty and fide-
'lity to the King's Majeſty.

'WE may not therefore be ſo negli-
'gent of our duty unto God, in reſpect
'of our profeſſion, or unto ourſelves and
'families, as ſilently to ſuffer our names
'and profeſſion, to be buried under ſuch
'cauſeleſs infamy; neither may we be
'ſo much wanting of our duty to our
'King, as by ſuch ſullen ſilence, to of-
'fer his Majeſty juſt occaſion of being
'jealous, and ſuſpicious of our loyalty
'and obedience, or to leave him with-
'out all poſſible, rational ſecurity, of
'our humble ſubjection and fidelity to
'him.

'WE acknowledge, that the hiſtories
'of *Germany* relate moſt dreadful things,
'of the impious opinions and practices of
'ſome reputed *Anabaptiſts*, deſtructive to
'all government and human ſociety. Al-
'tho' it is to be obſerv'd, what *Caſſander*,

'a

'a learn'd and moderate *Papiſt*, relates in 'his epiſtle to the Duke of *Gulick* and '*Cleve*, to this purpoſe, That there were 'certain people in *Germany* bearing the 'denomination of *Anabaptiſts*, who reſiſt-'ed and oppos'd the opinions and prac-'tices of thoſe at *Munſter*, and taught 'the contrary doctrine, whereby in his 'opinion they appear'd to be incited by a 'godly mind, and render'd themſelves ra-'ther worthy of pity, than perſecution 'and perdition; and that in *Holland*, 'thoſe who have ſucceeded them, do in 'doctrine and practice, adhere to the 'ſame peaceable principles, is publickly 'known. But the miſguided zeal of 'ſome, otherwiſe minded in the point of '*Baptiſm*, hath frequently, tho' undu-'ly imputed the like impious opinions, 'deſigns and intentions, unto all that are 'call'd by that name; altho' their ſouls 'abhor the very memory of ſuch impi-'ous doctrines, and their bloody conſe-'quences. That ſuch evil opinions and 'practices, are no natural or neceſſary 'concomitants or conſequences of the 'doctrine about *Baptiſm*, nor of any poſ-'ſible connexion with it, is eaſy to be 'diſcern'd; yet by the like miſtake we 'now ſuffer under jealouſies, thro' the 'wicked treaſon, rebellion, and murder, 'of a few heady and diſtemper'd perſons,

'pretending to introduce a civil and tem-
'poral reign and government of *Jesus*
'*Christ* by their swords, and to subvert
'all civil government and authority.

'YET we cannot imagine a reason
'why, their bloody tenets, and tragical
'actings, should reflect upon those of our
'persuasion, the persons not being of our
'belief or practice about *Baptism*; but to
'the best of our information, they were
'all, except one, assertors of *Infant-Bap-*
'*tism*, and never had communion with
'us in our assemblies, nor hath there
'been any correspondence or converse be-
'tween us; but contrariwise, in their
'meetings, they have inveigh'd bitterly
'against us, as worshippers of the beast,
'because of our constant declaring against
'their conceited, wild interpretations of
'dark prophecies, and enthusiastical im-
'pulses; and profess'd and practis'd our
'duty of subjection to the civil magis-
'tracy.

'AND it is notoriously known, the very
'same *persons*, or at least the *leaders*, and
'the most of them, formerly advanc'd
'their pretended standard of *Jesus Christ*,
'as much against us, as against any o-
'thers.

'AND it is as publickly known, that e-
'ven in this their rebellion, such of us
'as were call'd thereunto, which were

'many,

'many, were ready to hazard our lives
'to ſuppreſs them.

'AND if ſuch a conſtant continu'd op-
'poſition unto the impious tenets and
'practices of theſe *perſons*, both in our
'doctrines and lives, will not be eſteem'd
'a pregnant and cogent evidence of our
'unſpotted innocence, from their treaſon
'and rebellion, and ſatisfy every man,
'that our ſouls never enter'd into their
'ſecrets; we can only appeal to the All-
'ſeeing God, the judge of all the earth,
'to vindicate us in his righteous judg-
'ment, who we are aſſur'd will judge Gen.
'and do right. xviii. 25.

'IN whoſe preſence we proteſt, that
'we neither had the leaſt foreknowledge
'of the ſaid late treaſonable *inſurrection*,
'nor did any of us, in any kind or degree
'whatſoever, directly or indirectly con-
'trive, promote, aſſiſt, abet, or approve
'the ſame; but do eſteem it our duty to
'God, to his Majeſty, and to our neigh-
'bour, not only to be obedient; but al-
'ſo to uſe our utmoſt induſtry, to pre-
'vent all ſuch treaſons, murders, and re-
'bellions; and to uſe in all our aſſemblies,
'conſtant prayers and ſupplications for
'his Majeſty.

'WHEREFORE we humbly beſeech
'his Majeſty, and deſire all our fellow
'ſubjects, that our actions, doctrines and
'lives, may be the only glaſſes, thro'

'which they will look into our hearts, 'and paſs judgment upon us; and that 'the tenets or opinions of others, either 'in this or foreign kingdoms, may not be 'imputed to us, when our doctrines and 'lives, do declare our abhorrency of them: 'We believing, that *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, 'his *Apoſtles*, and Chriſtian Religion, did 'conſiſt with, and obey the imperial go-'vernment, that then was in the world, 'and that we ought to obey his Majeſty 'not only for wrath, but for conſcience 'ſake.

'WE deſire, therefore, that it may be 'conſidered without prejudice, whether 'our perſwaſion in the matter of *Baptiſm*, 'hath any connexion with theſe doctrines 'againſt government; or whether theſe 'can be the probable conſequences or in-'ferences from our doctrine concerning '*Baptiſm*? And we pray that it may be 'ſeriouſly conſidered, whether it be ra-'tional, juſt, or chriſtian, to impute all 'the errors, and wickedneſs of any *ſect* 'of Chriſtians in one age or country, to 'the perſons of another age or country, 'called by the name of the former? eſ-'pecially when theſe errors, or impieties, 'gave not the name to the *ſect*, as in our 'caſe, nor can be reaſonably ſuppoſed to 'be the conſequences of that opinion, 'from whence the *ſect* had its denomi-'nation.

'IT

'IT would not be holden juſt to aver, 'every *Proteſtant* to believe *Conſubſtan-* 'tiation, or abſolute *Predeſtination*, and 'Reprobation, becauſe *Luther* was zea- 'lous in the one, and *Calvin* in the other; 'why therefore ſhou'd the errors and im- 'pieties of others, be imputed to us, 'whilſt we earneſtly contend againſt 'them? And as to our doctrine of *Bap-* 'tiſm, we hope every Chriſtian, that hath 'ſearch'd the ſcriptures, knoweth, that 'there wants not ſo much evidence, at 'leaſt for our opinion and practice, as 'Chriſtian charity may well allow, tho' 'in ſome mens judgments we ſhould be 'eſteemed miſtaken; and it will be eaſily 'granted by the learned, that there is no 'impiety in our doctrine of *Baptiſm*, nor 'oppoſition to civil government, or his 'Majeſty's authority; neither can the in- 'jury of our neighbour, be the natural 'conſequence of it.

'AND therefore we humbly hope, 'that the omnipotent Power of heaven 'and earth, will ſo diſpoſe his Majeſty 'and his people's hearts, that we may 'worſhip God in peace and freedom, ac- 'cording to the faith we have receiv'd, 'living a peaceable and quiet life, in all 'godlineſs and honeſty.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

'THAT it may yet more fully appear, 'That our principles ſuggeſted in this 'apology, about ſubjection to magiſtracy 'and government, againſt the contrary 'opinions and practices are not new, much 'leſs proceeding from us upon the ſuc-'ceſsleſneſs of this tragical enterpriſe; we 'have thought fit herewith, to publiſh 'an apology of our ancient and conſtant 'principles, preſented with our humble 'petition, to the King's moſt excellent 'Majeſty, ſome months ſince, in the 'year 1660.'

THIS was ſubſcribed by thirty miniſters and principal members of the *Baptiſt* congregations.

Another apology of the Engliſh Baptiſts.

'*An Apology of ſome call'd* Anabaptiſts, '*in and about the city of* London, *in* '*behalf of themſelves and others of the* '*ſame judgment with them.*

'FORASMUCH * as it hath been 'our portion all along to ſuffer not 'only ſome hard things in many of our

* Let the Rev^d. Mr. *Neale* ſeriouſly conſider this paragraph, and if his own conſcience do not ſmite him, for that unfair repreſentation of his, I think he is rather an object of pity than reſentment.

'perſons

'perſons, but alſo very much in our re-
'putations, thro' the unjuſt aſperſions
'and calumnies of our adverſaries, and
'ſuch, who, tho' they daily behold our
'inoffenſive converſation, and do or may
'know our faith and doctrine, will not
'yet be deliver'd from thoſe groundleſs
'and injurious reports, which they have
'without proof, concerning things or
'perſons taken up; but contrariwiſe con-
'tinue in preſs, pulpit, and common
'diſcourſe, induſtriouſly to divulge things
'tending to our defamation; and more
'eſpecially for that purpoſe, watching
'the opportunity of all revolutions and
'changes of perſons exercis'd in govern-
'ment, which hath often happen'd in
'theſe nations of late years. And inaſ-
'much as the deſign of our adverſaries
'therein, hath appear'd to be the rendring
'of us obnoxious to thoſe, that have had
'moſt power in their hand to offend and
'harm us, and have for that purpoſe,
'invented ſuch calumnies, as might beſt
'accompliſh that deſign; which altho'
'they have been various, and ſometimes
'manifeſtly croſs and contradictory one
'to another, yet having no other ground,
'that we know of, than the fore-men-
'tion'd evil purpoſe; they have there-
'fore, both one and the other, even all
'of them, been generally accompany'd

'with

'with the charge of diſobedience to ma-
'giſtracy and civil government.

'WE have therefore been neceſſitated,
'as alterations in government have hap-
'pen'd, to renew our vindications in this
'publick manner, having very ſeldom
'opportunity, otherwiſe to inform ei-
'ther magiſtrates or people of the injuries
'done unto us, and which is much more,
'to the truth we do profeſs. And that
'in this preſent conjuncture of affairs,
'the miſrepreſentation of us either for-
'merly or now, may not take impreſſion
'upon any, to the damage of us and our
'profeſſion, we have thought it requiſite
'not to bring to light any new matter;
'but only to extract out of our former
'confeſſions of faith and declarations,
'our conſtant principles, to which we
'have been, and ſhall always endeavour,
'the Lord aſſiſting us, that our practice
'may ſtill be conformable in this great
'point, concerning magiſtracy and civil
'government, as by theſe extracts fol-
'lowing may appear.

'THAT civil * *magiſtracy* is an ordi-
'nance of God, ſet up by him for the pu-
'niſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe
'of them that do well; and that in all

* Confeſſion of faith of thoſe churches in *London*, which are commonly, tho' unjuſtly, call'd *Anabaptiſts*, Art. 47. Printed in the ſeveral years 1651, 1646, 1644, *&c.*

'law-

'lawful things commanded by them, ſub-
'jection ought to be given by us in the
'Lord, not only for wrath but for con-
'ſcience ſake, and that we are to make
'ſupplications and prayers for *Kings*, and
'all that are in *authority*, that under
'them we may live a peaceable, a quiet
'life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.

'WE who are falſely call'd *Anabap-*
'*tiſts* *, being as ready to obey our civil
'*magiſtrates*, as to profeſs our ſubjection
'to them in all lawful commands; what-
'ever is preach'd or printed of us, by any
'to the contrary, and whoſoever have
'or ſhall accuſe us, either to the *magiſ-*
'*trates*, or to the common people, that we
'will not obey *authority* do falſely ac-
'cuſe us.

'AND however † it be a thing very
'deſireable to godly men, to have ſuch
'to be their *governors* as fear the Lord,
'inaſmuch, as together with their moral
'principles, they are under more ſolemn
'bands of engagement as chriſtians, to
'execute judgment and juſtice, and faith-
'fully to diſcharge their truſt, and in-
'aſmuch alſo, as they will be more rea-
'dy to protect godly men, which gene-

* Declaration concerning a publick diſpute. Printed in the year 1645, *p.* 4.

† Declaration by the ſeveral congregational ſocieties in and about the city of *London*, in way of vindication of themſelves, touching liberty, magiſtracy, *&c.* Printed 1647, p. 7. Sect. 3, & 4.

'rally

'rally are the hated of the world, and to 'propagate the Gospel in their territories, 'than other men will be; yet whatever 'the magistrate is in point of religion, 'he is to be reverenc'd and obey'd in all 'those commands of his, which do not 'intrench upon, or rise up in opposition 'to the commands of God. And we do 'freely acknowledge, that kingly govern-'ment establish'd, guided and bounded 'by just and wholesome laws, is both 'allow'd by God, and a good accommo-'dation to men.

'THAT all people in every nation, 'as well members of * churches as o-'thers, ought for conscience sake to ho-'nour such, as by the wise disposing 'providence of God are their rulers, and 'are to submit to the civil commands 'not only of such rulers as are faithful, 'but even to infidels.

'ALTHO' we cannot answer in justi-'cation † of every individual person, 'that is of our profession in matters of 'religion, no more than our christian 'friends of other persuasions can do in 'behalf of all of their persuasions; yet 'we can say this, and prove it to all the

* Declaration of divers elders and brethren of congregational societies in and about the city of *London*, *Nov.* 10. 1651.

† Declaration of several of the people call'd *Anabaptists* in and about the city of *London*, *Dec.* 12. 1659. The answer to the first crimination.

'world,

'world, that it hath been our profeſſion, 'and is our real practice, to be obedient to 'magiſtracy in all things civil, and will-'ing to live peaceably under the go-'vernment eſtabliſh'd in this nation: For 'we do believe and declare, magiſtracy 'to be an ordinance of God, and ought 'to be obey'd in all lawful things.

'THESE things we have herein recit-'ed, the rather, becauſe that ſuch judg-'ment as ſhall be made by any concern-'ing us, may be fairly and duely taken, 'and calculated from our own writings, 'and not from the aſperſions unjuſtly 'caſt upon us by ſuch, who have not 'only render'd many guilty for the of-'fence-ſake of ſome one perſon; but alſo 'call'd others, after the ſame name given 'to us, with whom we have had or held 'no correſpondency or agreement, en-'deavouring to blemiſh our profeſſion, by 'charging the whole party, not only 'with the guilt of many ſtrange unſound 'opinions, ſuch as were never receiv'd or 'allow'd by them; but alſo with many 'actions wherein they have been leaſt of 'all, if at all concern'd. And as for 'thoſe things wherein any of us, or o-'thers of our judgment have been actually 'concern'd, we hope it has proceeded 'from a due regard to thoſe invariable 'rules given in the Holy Scripture for 'the ordering of our converſation, with

'reſpect

'respect unto *magistracy*, according to 'the best judgment could be made of 'them, and pursuant thereunto, done in 'observance of those publick edicts and 'declarations, whereunto the most uni-'versal obedience and constant adherence 'hath been requir'd by those that have 'had the power over us, and who have 'admitted us the least of any people, to 'dispute the reason of governments and 'laws.

'AND for that the subjection yielded 'by us, to the powers that have been 'over us, hath proceeded from a consci-'ence not daring to disobey, unless in 'such things which we could not un-'derstand to be lawful, and the affections 'that have been manifested therein, have 'arisen from the enjoyment of that due 'liberty and protection, which we have 'had in matters of religion; we do hope 'and desire, that none of us upon the 're-establishment of the present govern-'ment, shall now be adjudg'd criminal 'by our present governours; but that we 'may notwithstanding reap the benefit of 'that favour, that hath been declar'd and 'tender'd by the King's Majesty, and be 'protected from all injury and violence 'whatsoever, equally with others his Ma-'jesty's subjects, in the quiet and peace-'able enjoyment of our religious and civil 'rights and liberties, we desiring and en-

'deavouring

'deavouring to behave ourſelves in all 'good conſcience towards God and man, 'remembring that rule of our Lord, that 'we are to render unto *Cæſar* the things 'which are *Cæſar*'s, and to God the 'things which are God's; and that we, 'as well as rulers, muſt certainly at the 'great day be accountable, to the juſt 'and righteous judge of all the earth, for 'all our doings.'

I FIND in ſhort-hand, added to the end of theſe printed Apologies, theſe words, *viz.*

MR. *Jeſſey* preaching ſoon after, declar'd to his congregation, that *Venner* ſhould ſay, that he believ'd there was not one *Baptiſt* amongſt them, and that if they ſucceeded, the *Baptiſts* ſhould know that Infants Baptiſm was an ordinance of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Mr. *Gravener* was preſent at his meeting-houſe in *Coleman-ſtreet*, and heard him ſay this; from whoſe mouth, ſays the writer, I had this account.

AS this mad inſurrection in *England*, ſo alſo that at *Munſter* in *Germany*, is improv'd by the generality of the *Pædobaptiſt* authors, to reflect an *odium* on all thoſe who are ſtil'd *Anabaptiſts*; I ſhall in this place tranſcribe what I find in a

certain *Author*, who about this time wrote a ſmall Treatiſe, which he intitled *Moderation*, or *Arguments and Motives tending thereto; humbly tendred to the honourable Members of Parliament.*

IN this Treatiſe, he ſays *, 'Now forasmuch, as *among others* bearing the name of *Sectaries*, the name of *Anabaptiſts* is mainly ſingled out for *publick reproach*, if not for *ruin*, and that their *grand* impeachment is their oppoſing *magiſtracy*, *government*, &c. Upon which account the *Munſter Tragedy* is ſo *much* and *often* in all places (by prints and otherwiſe) laid to *their* charge, as indeed it could not *rightly* be *more*, if thoſe bearing that name in *England* had been the very *individual* actors thereof at *Munſter*; will not the *ſtones ſpeak*, if all *men* ſhould be wholly *mute* under ſuch *clamours*? Wherefore in anſwer hereunto, I hope it will not be a crime very briefly to *apologize* ſo far as to do *them truth*, and *juſtice* itſelf a *little right*, without doing *others* any *wrong*, further than to undeceive them, and exonerate *all* as much as may be from *miſpriſions*, which in this and other things, are the *bane* and *poiſon* of publick peace and amity.

The tragedy of Munſter *unjuſtly caſt on the* Anabaptiſts.

* Sect. 19. *p.* 13.

'FIRST,

'FIRST, Let it be noted, that *other* 'sorts of men * in *England* do impeach 'one the other with the *same crime*; 'some charge the *whole Parliament*, both 'Lords and *Commons*, and *all* their *adhe-* 'rents, with *resisting the authority of the* 'King; saying, such of them were only 'loyal obedient subjects, who went to Ox- 'ford upon the King's summons, to sit 'in Parliament there, or to aid and af- 'sist him in his war. *Others* charge all 'those *members* who have *espous'd* the *se-* 'clusion of so many of their *own house*, 'and turn'd out the *house of Lords*. *O-* 'thers have been adjudg'd and pro- 'ceeded against as *delinquents*, both for- 'merly and lately, for *resisting the Par-* 'liament upon the King's account. I 'modestly mention *only* matters of *fact*, 'and that but *hints*, without judging the 'merit of them, only to the end, it may 'be observ'd, that (setting *these* aside) *o-* 'thers do and will mutually charge with 'illegalities and *exorbitances* relating to *ci-* 'vil power and *government*: *And indeed* 'things *are not judg'd illegal* (now in our 'days) *so much for what they are simply*

Others in England *charg'd as opposers of magistracy.*

* Vide Vindiciæ Regum, or the grand rebellion. Gr. *Williams*, Bishop of *Ossory*. Dr. *Fern*, *Salmasius*, Mr. *Edw. Symons*. The loyal subjects belief, with the several answers unto these by other ministers.

'*in themſelves; but either as they may not* '*proſperouſly ſucceed, or as being done by* '*other hands, and not in proſecution of* '*their own intereſt and opinion, who ſo* '*judge of them*: Which favours more of '*faction, paſſion* and *intereſt*, than of *rea-* '*ſon* and *juſtice*, in the eyes of *wiſe* ob- 'ſervers.

Antipædobaptiſm *no more repugnant to magiſtracy than* Pædobaptiſm.

'SECONDLY, Their opinion, wherein '*other Chriſtians* differ from them about 'the *ſubject* and *form* of that inſtituted or- 'dinance of *Baptiſm*, is as far *off* the 'point of *magiſtracy* and oppoſition to 'it, as *Pædobaptiſm* itſelf, or any *other* 'thing in the world. What though, 'therefore, ſome holding that opinion, 'either in this or other nations, ſhould 'be in any wiſe *enormous*? yet their o- 'pinion and practice of *Baptiſm* would 'be no *more* impair'd, nor *untrue*, than 'our Saviour *Chriſt*'s and his *Apoſtles* 'doctrine was, by the treachery of *Ju-* 'das, and the apoſtacy of *multitudes* in 'the *primitive times*. And why the 'denomination of *Anabaptiſts* (which 'they diſown) ſhould be faſten'd upon 'them, they are yet to ſeek of ſufficient 'reaſon; not only ſeeing they ac- 'knowledge *but once baptizing*; but alſo 'they laying *no more* weight upon that 'inſtituted ordinance, than upon that o- 'ther of like inſtitution, *the Lord's-Sup-*

'*per*,

'*per*, and than *others* do, who hold the '*other* way of *baptizing*; yet this *name* is '*abusively* put upon them, as if all their *re*-'*ligion* lay in *baptism*; whereas the course 'of their doctrine touching principles of 'faith, and piety, and morality in *chris*-'*tian* practice, is such as is generally re-'ceiv'd for *orthodox*; even by the most 'accounted *such*, who have read the con-'fessions of their faith, and heard their 'common doctrine.

'THIRDLY, The generality of per-'sons who hold this opinion, have gi-'ven *sufficient* proof for divers years, that 'their principles and practices are as *con*-'*sistent* with human *society*, peaceable '*co-habitation*, and *due subjection* to civil '*establish'd* government, as any other in 'the land. Not only do their manifold '*declarations*, if examin'd, give satisfacti-'on in this point; but withal, neither 'the *time*, nor *place*, nor *persons of them*, 'can be mention'd, touching any *insur*-'*rection* they ever made against the *ma*-'*gistracy* in *England*. But if any per-'sons of them had done it, would it be '*justice* to impute that to the *whole*? 'Would those of *other ways* be so judg'd? 'Of whom there have been *many*, who 'have both plotted and actually perpetra-'ted publick insurrections, which yet 'was never call'd the *Munster Tragedy*

Baptist *principles as consistent with human society, &c. as any other.*

'*of Pædobaptiſts*; becauſe, though the '*ſame* reaſon, yet *moderation* would not 'allow it. For *perſonal faults* ought to 'have only *perſonal imputations*; and *they* 'deſire to do therein, as they would *o-* '*thers* ſhould *deal* with them.

'As what has been ſaid will much '*obviate* an objection, touching thoſe *few* 'of *this way* in the *army*; ſo let me add, 'that what they they done in that *pub-* '*lick capacity*, under an opinion of *pub-* '*lick obligation*, hath been ſo far *perſonal*, 'and as members of the *nation*, that 'ſuch do wrongfully who impute it unto 'their *profeſſion*. But if it muſt needs 'be ſo, then let it be try'd and prov'd, 'whether there have not been *many* call'd '*Pædobaptiſts*, join'd in all thoſe very 'actions, for *one of thoſe* call'd *Anabap-* '*tiſts*, even in the *higheſt acts* done, 'whatever unfairly and diſingenuouſly hath 'been by anyrepreſented *otherwiſe* to the 'world. Neither have theſe things been 'done in *corners*, to be hid from the eyes 'of *indifferent* ſpectators, who are well 'able to judge of partiality.

Pædobaptiſts *as much or more* Fifth-monarchiſts *than* Baptiſts.

'FOURTHLY, As touching *thoſe now*, 'who hold ſome opinions about Chriſt's 'kingdom on earth in a reputed offen- 'ſive way; is it not notorious, that they 'are many of them *Pædobaptiſts* them- '*ſelves*, and as much againſt thoſe call'd

'*Ana-*

'*Anabaptiſts* as others, even as well as in 'the ſubject of *baptiſm*? And on the '*other hand*, the generality of thoſe call'd '*Anabaptiſts*, are as much againſt all 'their offenſive opinions in thoſe points '(tho' ſome few of *one*, as well as the '*other* ſort may own them) as any o-'thers in the world, pitying thoſe who '*err* therein; and *publickly* in their 'congregations and doctrines detecting 'ſuch *errors*, diſclaiming and refuting 'them. Yet albeit there are many ſuch 'call'd *Pædobaptiſts* of them, the *others* 'have more of *reaſon* and *moderation*, 'than to lay the *Munſter Tragedy* upon 'that *name*, though there may be the '*ſame* ground. If, therefore, there ſhould 'be any *exorbitant irruption* in *words* or '*actions* of that ſort of people, *thus mix'd*; 'either let ſuch fault be reputed merely '*perſonal*, and no further; or elſe *indif-*'*ferently*, *juſtly* and *impartially* be imput-'ed to *one ſort* as well as *another*, more 'than hitherto it hath been; which in-'deed, among other things, may *juſtly* 'call in queſtion the *juſtice* of *hiſtorians* 'touching the *Munſter people*, which was 'about 130 years paſt; foraſmuch as '*truth* and *juſtice* is ſo much *wrong'd* be-'fore our *eyes*, and at our own *doors*, as 'it is by *publick prints* and *otherwiſe* 'daily.

Oppreſſions of the magiſtrates the cauſe of the rebellions in Germany.

'FIFTHLY, All hiſtorians about the 'ſeditions in *Germany* confeſs *thus far* 'ingenuouſly; that the *intolerable oppreſ-* 'ſions of the *magiſtrates* then, gave one 'great occaſion of their *riſe* and *progreſs* 'to that heighth. Wherefore at the 'ſame time (about the year of our Lord '1525.) in *Suevia* and *Franconia*, there 'aroſe in arms about forty thouſand 'men, (who pretended nothing at all to 'that call'd *Anabaptiſm*) to exonerate 'and acquit themſelves by force from 'their heavy burthens. Which was 'more a rebellion than the other; for 'they kill'd the greateſt part of the *No-* 'bility; pillag'd, ſack'd and burn'd their 'houſes, caſtles and fortreſſes; and vio- 'lently overflow'd, and deſtroy'd the 'country like an inundation. Yet con- 'cerning *theſe*, we have *only* the *gentle* 'tender hints of our *Hiſtoriographers*, gi- 'ving us in few lines *merely narrative of* 'fact, without any *odium* on their *fault*, 'or any *black characters* at all upon their 'names, *perſons* or *religion*; when as the 'ſame *hiſtory* of the ſame fact, imputed 'to ſome call'd *Anabaptiſts* there, is 'wrote in moſt dreadful letters of *blood*, 'concerning their perſons, names and re- 'ligion; which (by the way) may guide 'the impartial reader in his obſervation 'and credit of *hiſtories* wrote by *adver-*

'*ſaries.*

'*ſaries.* Now ſomewhat contemporary
'with this great inſurrection (according
'to the ſame ſtories) *Caroloſtadius*, *Stock*,
'*Muntzer*, and other publick miniſters of
'the Goſpel (as *Luther* then was) fell
'from good principles to dangerous opi-
'nions, dreams, enthuſiaſms, pretences of
'extraordinary viſions and revelations (all
'which, thoſe call'd *Anabaptiſts* that I
'defend, do, and ever did as much diſ-
'claim and abhor, as any others in the
'world, holding firmly to the ſacred word
'of God, the holy Scriptures) of whom,
'*Muntzer* chiefly manageth theſe opinions
'with the oppreſſions unto diſturbous
'practices, to his and others ruin and re-
'proach. About ſix or ſeven years af-
'ter, which was about the years 1531,
'1532, and forward, broke out like the
'unhappy buſtle at the city of *Munſter*
'in *Weſtphalia*, by *John Becold Knipper-*
'*doling*, and one *Bernard Rotman*, a
'publick preacher in that city; and this
'was accompany'd with the like fooliſh,
'mad, vain opinions; being as far *remote*
'from, and as *foreign* unto *theſe* people
'in *England*, in their *opinions*, as they
'were in their *perſons*, *place* and *time*;
'who therefore are unduly and unwor-
'thily call'd their *ſpawn*, their *offspring*
'and *generation*, &c. and what not?
'Howbeit, let it be obſerv'd, how *mon-*

'*ſtrous*

'*ſtrous* and *prodigious* this is made; and 'how the world is made to *ring* of the noiſe 'of this *one* diſaſter, that happen'd in *one* 'little compaſs of time; and how unchri-'ſtianly and unreaſonably it is now *rak'd* 'up, and *reckon'd* to a company of people, 'who in ſuch things are as innocent now 'of the like, as they were of that very fact 'there, being then unborn. Whereas I 'have mention'd *like fact* at the *ſame* '*time in others*, and may add the like 'hints in thoſe hiſtories of the *Switzers*, 'who about 200 years before, aroſe and 'violently deſtroy'd their *Lords*, and as 'violently chang'd (without blame) both 'their *governours* and *government*, not re-'verting to this day; which if thoſe of '*Germany* had ſucceeded as proſperouſly, 'they might have been no more blam'd. 'I might infinitely multiply examples, if 'I ſhould rake in the duſt and aſhes of 'other ſorts throughout all ages in *Chriſ-'tendom*. But what need I go farther 'then our divers and manifold inſurrec-'tions in *England*, againſt all kinds and 'degrees of *authority*? Neither need I 'mention *by whom* they have been per-'petrated. Yet all this without the 'leaſt remembrance or reckoning of *Mun-'ſter* unto them, or any of them; ſuch 'is the power of partiality and prejudice. 'Moreover I muſt not omit to return

'the

'the reader's *eye* again to *Munſter*, of 'which *ſame* city we have had certain 'account year by year to this very day, 'for ſome conſiderable time; *that they 'riſe in arms, reſiſt and oppoſe their law-'ful magiſtrate, refuſe obedience to his e-'dicts, and maintain the ſame city againſt 'him by publick force*, and all without 'the leaſt *brand* of *infamy on them*. On 'the other hand, ſuch are very great 'ſtrangers in the world, who know not 'that in *Holland* are *very many*, and have 'been *very long*, that bear the ſame name 'of *Anabaptiſts*, that are as *famous* for 'peaceable living and ſubjection, as any 'others have been *infamous* for the con-'trary.

'ALL which ſtrongly reſults and con-'cludes in this; that there is no *end* nor '*bounds* of impeaching, if there be not 'ſtrict *reſtraint* of publick faults unto 'their *proper authors*, acquitting *other o-'pinions* they hold, except only ſuch o-'pinions as do naturally and directly tend 'to ſuch faults. Wherein, indeed, Mr. 'Joſhua Scotton (tho' a *Pædobaptiſt*) deals 'the moſt ingenuouſly of all other, who 'in his tranſlation of *Guy de Brez*'s 'German ſtory, calls it *The German En-'thuſiaſt*, in the title page, and not the 'German *Anabaptiſt*: and in the latter 'end of his epiſtle to the reader, hath

'theſe

'these words; *those*, saith he, *which he* 'stileth Anabaptists, *between whom and* 'other mere *Dissenters in the point of* 'Pædobaptism, *being otherwise orthodox* 'and peaceable, *the reader ought always* 'conscientiously *to distinguish.*

German sedition also charg'd upon Luther.

'SIXTHLY, Let me a little further 'enforce this by observing, that all this 'German sedition that is now (about 130 'years after) put to the account of the 'innocent reputed *Anabaptists* in *Eng-* 'land; was in *like* manner *as much* charg'd 'upon *innocent Luther* at that very day, as 'the *same historians* do jointly and gene- 'rally report; and is confess'd by Mr. 'Samuel Clark in his *lives of the fathers.* 'Yet had they *as much* reason for that '(though none at all) seeing the *princi-* 'pal fomenters of the sedition had been 'publick *preachers* of the Gospel, as *Lu-* 'ther was, who then and thereupon could 'but purge himself by publick *mani-* 'festo, (which is yet extant) as *these* in 'England have done, time after time, *not* 'only by their *confession of faith* oft im- 'printed, shewing their constancy, be- 'sides their manifold declarations, *more* 'particularly upon this point in hand, but 'confirm'd by *constant practice*, in their 'peaceable *co-habitation* with their seve- 'ral neighbourhoods both in *city* and 'country.

'SEVENTH-

'SEVENTHLY, Is not this *ſame* imputation toſs'd like a *ball*, or rather a *ſtone*, between the *Proteſtants* in general, and the *Papiſts* in all their paper conteſts? And *which*, and *who* can acquit every *individual* of their party? If, therefore, any *particular perſons* of this *name* ſhould (among others) prove extravagant; it will no more make this *their glorying void*, than that of *others*, who may rather (for want of moderation) watch for haltings in theſe more than in *all other* ſorts beſides. Its evident then, that the prevalency of *intereſt* and *faction* above *commutative juſtice*, *right and reaſon*, in too many of this age, doth influence them to this great unfairneſs. Which whether the deſign be (in this way) to *ſtifle* their *opinion* about *baptiſm*, or to bring *ſwift deſtruction* upon thoſe who hold it, though they hold it with never ſo much *piety* towards God, *righteouſneſs and peace* towards men, *moderation and reſpect* towards thoſe *chriſtians* who conſcientiouſly differ from them, yet (leaving that to God, that knows their purpoſes, and is above them) they deſire the Lord to forgive thoſe who thus *traduce* them, and *detract* them, and that (through the aſſiſtance of God's grace) they may be enabled to walk inoffen-

'ſively

'ſively towards *Jew* or *Gentile*, or church 'of God, ſo as to put to ſilence the ig- 'rance of all fooliſh men, who delight 'to ſpeak evil of *what* and of *whom* they 'know not, at leaſt many of them.

Enthuſiaſm, &c. *unjuſtly charg'd on the* Baptiſts.

'EIGHTHLY, As touching extraordi- 'nary *impulſes, enthuſiaſms, dreams, viſions,* '&c. Such who lay all this upon thoſe 'call'd *Anabaptiſts* promiſcuouſly in *Eng-* 'land, they ſhew themſelves to be *very* 'great ſtrangers, *not underſtanding* where- 'of they do affirm. The contrary where- 'of ſhineth ſo bright, *as* in their ordi- 'nary teachings and church-government, '*ſo* in the manifold treatiſes, commenta- 'ries, *&c.* printed and publiſh'd by many 'learned of them, upon all points in the 'chriſtian religion. Wherein let it be '*duly* noted, that one grand occaſion of 'this and ſuch like imputations, is plain- 'ly this: That one writing author meet- 'ing with *heterodox* and groſs opinions 'in his readings of others, laid upon that '*name*, he tranſmits it to another that 'follows; and ſo the *ſecond* to the *third*, and 'none of all (for the moſt part) receiv- 'ing any ſuch aſſertions from the perſons 'themſelves, much leſs from any confeſ- 'ſion of faith, comprehending the judg- 'ment of the *generality* of that name. 'By which both writers and readers both 'do, and ſuffer wrong in creating to

'them-

'themſelves and others groundleſs pre-
'judices, conveying them over from age
'to age, and rendring them a hideous,
'monſtrous people. And though I could
'multiply inſtances hereof in my own
'ſmall readings, yet I ſhall mention but
'*one*, which was call'd a catalogue of the
'damnable errors of the *Anabaptiſts*, e-
'numerating *thirty and one*; yet of *all*
'theſe, there was but that *one* reputed
'error of *Antipædobaptiſm*, which they
'will eſpouſe, diſavowing the reſt as
'much as he that accus'd them, who
'was a miniſter of no inferior note. Yet
'I ſhall forbear to mention any names,
'becauſe I want not due regard to ſuch
'perſons, who may be otherwiſe godly
'and ſerviceable in both teaching and wri-
'ing, ſetting aſide ſuch miſpriſions. And
'withal few obſerving readers are unac-
'quainted herewith, to need inſtances.

'NINTHLY, Neither is it leſs mani-
'feſt, that moſt of thoſe very errors are
'held and maintain'd by *Pædobaptiſts* one
'againſt the other. The manifold conteſts
'among them about the *principal* points of
'*doctrine*, and alſo moſt things apper-
'taining to *church-government* and *admi-
'niſtration of all ordinances*, have been
'upon the houſe-top, to be publickly
'known and read of *all* men. More
'particulary thoſe call'd of the *Epiſcopal*,

Errors call'd Anabaptiſtical as much or more held by the Pædobaptiſts.

'*Preſ-*

'*Preſbyterian* and *Eraſtian* ways, not to 'mention more; nor yet theſe with the 'leaſt immoderate ſpirit towards them, 'but *rather* deſiring it may be us'd by 'them to a *moderation* of mind towards 'each other; and alſo to enquire whether 'the *reputed errors* chargeable upon thoſe 'call'd *Anabaptiſts*, are any way compa-'rable in *number* or *weight* to thoſe in 'controverſy among themſelves; and 'whether the cauſe of ſuch eſtrangedneſs 'and enmity on their part, be not miſ-'underſtanding or intereſt of ſome kind 'or other, which in like manner hath 'led themſelves to ſuch *heat* of oppoſi-'tion, as hath ended in *removing* and *re-'volving* of *church-government*.

The German *hiſtorians account very doubtful.*

'TENTHLY, To conclude theſe par-'ticulars upon this general ſection, we 'find the ſtories of a company of people 'in *Germany*, who are long ſince dead 'and buried, under the greateſt reproach 'and infamy that can be. Of whom 'none can be left to anſwer for them-'ſelves; their reported *extirpation* and *ex-'tinction* being about 130 years paſt; 'their riſe and fall, *lives* and *deaths*, 'wrote by their *adverſaries*; no *aggrava-'ting* circumſtances, either for *opinion* or '*practice*, ſeems to be omitted; no *extе-'nuating* paſſages *confeſſedly* inſerted. Now 'that upon the *whole*, there might be ſuch

'a

'a *people*, and such *persons* bearing that 'appellation of *Anabaptists*, who mix'd 'with others, may be faulty in opinions 'and practices, is a matter much un-'doubted. But that every *aggravating* '*passage* is true; or that any *one historian*, 'admitting him otherwise just, was an '*ear witness* of all their *opinions*, and an '*ocular witness* of all their *tragical ac-*'*tions*, is reasonably to be *doubted*. And 'consequently their testimony in every '*puncto* not so much to be *regarded*; be-'cause false reports of contrary minded 'men, touching both such and other per-'sons and things, are so *abounding* and '*notorious* in *our own* nation and age; like 'that of *Jer.* xx. 10. *Report, say they, 'and we will report; they watched for my 'halting*, &c. Insomuch that, indeed, 'we have little ground of credit to com-'mon fame, at least, touching *particu-'lars* of *words* or *acts* spoken or done at 'the very next town; and least of all 'from *adversaries* to the persons and things 'reported of. Yet all such things, thus 'brought upon the *wings* of *fame*, is not-'withstanding as commonly and credibly '*receiv'd*, and thereupon again *reported*, 'yea *printed* and *publish'd*, even in all the 'aggravating circumstances, as if nothing 'in the world were more authentick and 'indubitable; such is the blind and rash '*credulity* of men (though some other-

'wiſe honeſt) where they are *pre-diſpoſ-*
'*ed* and *prefix'd* in their affections or
'diſaffections.

If true, make not againſt the Engliſh Baptiſts.

'BUT I ſuppoſe, and admit it granted
'to be *wholly true*; yet obſerve what
'*proximity* and *nearneſs* of relation is there
'between *thoſe* perſons and enormities in
'*Germany*, to *theſe* now in *England*; *that*
'*their eating of ſour grapes ſhould ſet the*
'*teeth of theſe on edge?* For there is not
'any *one* thing of *agreement* is or can be
'pretended, but in that of *Baptiſm*. And
'if the ſtories themſelves be true, they
'do not *ſo much* agree in that neither (all
'things conſider'd and obſerv'd) as thoſe
'call'd *Anabaptiſts* and *Pædobaptiſts* do
'here agree; for they relate, that they
'grounded their practice of *Baptiſm*, up-
'on pretences of *immediate revelations*;
'that they baptized *all* who came unto
'them; that they threaten'd *damnation* to
'*all* who neglected it; that they forc'd
'*all* perſons to be baptized, by proclaim-
'ing that all who refus'd it ſhould be
'kill'd. All which ſignify ſo much of
'frenzy and madneſs, that to thoſe of
'*that name* in *England*, nothing is more
'abſurd and abominable: And that there
'were ever any ſuch rude and heady per-
'ſons, anſwerable to this their portrai-
'ture and picture, ſcarce any thing to
'*them* is more *incredible*. Beſides their
'practices of *polygamy*, and deſtroying

'pro-

'propriety, is unto theſe in *England* de-
'teſtable; and *both* among other things
'detected in their *declaration* 1647.
'Wherefore, I do humbly and fairly
'propoſe, on their behalf in *England*;
'that if the *denomination* of *Anabaptiſt* be
'deriv'd *from*, or at leaſt imputed re-
'proachfully *upon*, that abominable abuſe
'of *Baptiſm*, by theſe men in *Germany*
'(waving the proper ſignification of the
'word as unduly applied) that then, and
'from henceforth, theſe who bear the
'*name* of *Anabaptiſts* in *England*, may be
'for ever acquitted and diſcharg'd there-
'of, never more to be call'd by that
'*name*; which diſcharge is a *due debt*
'from *juſtice itſelf*, ſeeing they can as
'clearly and truly plead *not guilty*, as
'any other people in the world.'

ON the 25th of *Octob.* 1660. The King put forth a declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, wherein he eſtabliſh'd again the book of *Common-prayer*. Yet to quiet the minds of the people, he therein aſſur'd them, that he would appoint an equal number of Divines of both perſuaſions, to review the ſame, and conſider the ſeveral objections rais'd againſt it; and if there was occaſion, to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary alterations and amendments therein, as ſhould be agreed upon, for the ſatisfaction of *tender conſciences*,

A declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs.

and preſerving peace and unity in the churches. Accordingly a commiſſion was granted *March* 25. following, with full power and authority to the perſons therein mention'd, to make ſuch amendments and alterations, as they ſhould agree upon, ſubjecting the ſame to his Majeſty's approbation. The perſons appointed on the ſide of the eſtabliſh'd Church were, the Biſhops of *York*, *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Sarum*, *Worceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, *Cheſter*, *Carliſle*, *Exeter* and *Norwich*. And of the *Preſbyterian* perſuaſion were, the Reverend *Anthony Tuckney*, *John Conant*, *William Spurſtow*, *John Wallis*, *Thomas Manton*, *Edmund Calamy*, Doctors of Divinity: *Richard Baxter*, *Arthur Jackſon*, *Thomas Caſe*, *Samuel Clark*, and *Matthew Newcomen*, Clerks. To whom were added, Dr. *Earles*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, *Peter Heylin*, *John Hackett*, *John Berwick*, *Peter Gunning*, *John Pearſon*, *Thomas Peirce*, *Anthony Sparrow*, *Herbert Thorndike*, *Thomas Horton*, *Thomas Jacomb*, Doctors of Divinity; *William Bates*, *John Rawlinſon*, *William Cooper*, Clerks; Dr. *John Lightfoot*, Dr. *John Collins*, Dr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, and *William Drake*, Clerk.

A commiſſion granted.

THOUGH the *Baptiſts* in *England* were at this time very numerous, and as famous men amongſt them for learning and piety, as moſt in this commiſſion; yet no

No Baptiſts in this commiſſion.

no regard was had to their caſe, nor any one of that perſuaſion appointed to have any ſhare in it. They did not deſign to reform ſo far; for if they could but bring the *Preſbyterian* party in, which was the moſt numerous of the Diſſenters, that might be ſufficient to ſecure their power; though by the conſequence of this proceeding it ſeems probable, there was no deſign of reformation; but only to quiet the minds of the people, till they could gain time.

THIS controverſy was manag'd by writing, and publiſh'd the ſame year. Among many other things, the doctrine and manner of Baptiſm was debated. Both perſuaſions charg'd each other, with advancing ſuch principles therein, as gave encouragement to *Anabaptiſm* *. For the *Epiſcopal* Divines aſſerted, that it is uncharitable to puniſh the children for their parents faults: That the children of *heathens* or excommunicate perſons, have as much right to *Baptiſm* as thoſe of believers; that the efficacy of children's *Baptiſm*, depends neither upon their own faith and repentance, nor that of their parents: That to ſay, that every child that is baptized, is not regenerated by God's Holy Spirit, tends to

* By the account of the proceedings, publiſh'd in 1661, it ſeems to me very evident, that the controverſy on the doctrine of *Baptiſm*, did much tend to promote what they call *Anabaptiſm*.

bring the *baptiſm* of *Infants* into contempt, and makes it not material whether the ſacrament be adminiſtred to children or not. Theſe were reaſons ſufficient to faſten that charge upon them. On the other hand, the *Preſbyterian* Divines aſſerted: That the making a croſs in *Baptiſm* was an human invention; that *Godfathers* and *Godmothers* have no power to covenant and vow in the *child*'s name: That thoſe who do not conſent themſelves, or do it by ſome other, who have a right to act for them, are not taken into covenant: That it cannot be ſaid in faith, every *child* baptized is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit: That thoſe who receive the benefit of *Baptiſm* muſt be qualified *ſubjects*, having the conditions requir'd of ſuch: That if *Baptiſm* juſtify and ſave thoſe that receive it, Chriſtianity is another kind of thing than the *Apoſtles* underſtood it to be; who taught, that it was not the waſhing of *water*, but the anſwer of a good conſcience, that ſaves in baptiſm: That if *baptiſm* had ſuch a virtue in it, then it were a charitable practice to catch the *children* of *Heathens*, and dip them, and ſo ſave them againſt their wills. Let the reader judge whether theſe could be excus'd from the like charge.

I HAVE been inform'd, that when the *Preſbyterians* were pleading hard for ſuch con-

conceſſions from his Majeſty, as they thought would bring about an union; the Lord-Chancellor told them, his Majeſty had receiv'd petitions from the *Anabaptiſts*, who deſir'd nothing more but to have liberty to worſhip God according to their conſciences. At which they were all ſtruck dumb, and remain'd in a long ſilence.

MR. *Baxter* has given us this in another light; therefore I ſhall make uſe of his own words. He ſays.

'THE moſt of the time being ſpent 'thus in ſpeaking to particulars of the 'declaration as it was read; when we 'came to the end, the Lord-Chancellor 'drew out another paper, and told us, 'that the King had been petition'd alſo 'by the *Independants* and *Anabaptiſts*: 'And tho' he knew not what to think of 'it himſelf, and did not very well like 'it; yet ſomething he had drawn up, 'which he would read to us, and deſire 'us alſo to give our advice about it. 'Thereupon he read, as an addition to the 'declaration; *That others alſo be permitted 'to meet for religious worſhip, ſo be it 'they do it not to the diſturbance of the 'peace, and that no Juſtice of peace or offi-'cer diſturb them.* When he had read 'it, he again deſir'd them all to think 'on it, and give their advice; but all 'were ſilent. The *Preſbyterians*, ſays he, 'all

Life, Part II. *p.* 277.

'all perceiv'd as ſoon as they heard it, 'that it would ſecure the liberty of the 'Papiſts. And one of them [Dr. *Wallis*] 'whiſper'd me in the ear, and intreated 'me to ſay nothing, for it was an *odious* 'buſineſs; but let the Biſhops ſpeak to it. 'But the Biſhops would not ſpeak a 'word, nor any one of the *Preſbyterians* 'neither; and ſo we were like to have 'ended in that ſilence. I knew if we 'conſented to it, it would be charg'd on 'us, that we ſpake for a toleration of 'Papiſts and *Sectaries*, (but yet it might 'have lengthen'd out our own.) And if 'we ſpake againſt it, all ſects and parties 'would be ſet againſt us, as the cauſers 'of their ſufferings, and as a partial peo-'ple, that would have liberty ourſelves, but 'would have no others have it with us. 'At laſt ſeeing the ſilence continue, I 'thought our very ſilence would be 'charg'd on us a conſent if it went on; 'and, therefore, I only ſaid this: *That 'this reverend brother, Dr.* Gunning, *even 'now ſpeaking againſt ſects, had nam'd 'the* Papiſts *and the* Socinians. *For our 'parts we deſir'd not favour to ourſelves a-'lone, and rigorous ſeverity we deſir'd a-'gainſt none. As we humbly thank'd his 'Majeſty for his indulgence to ourſelves, ſo 'we diſtinguiſh the tolerable parties from 'the intolerable. For the former, we hum-'bly crave juſt lenity and favour; but for 'the latter, ſuch as the two ſorts nam'd be-

'fore,

'fore, by that reverend brother, for our parts we cannot make their toleration our requeſt. To which his Majeſty ſaid, 'That there were laws enough againſt the 'Papiſts. And I reply'd, That we underſtood the queſtion to be, whether theſe laws ſhould be executed on them or not. And ſo his Majeſty brake up the meeting of 'that day.'

HAD theſe two great bodies united in their opinions, what could the *Baptiſts* have expected, unleſs Divine Providence had interpos'd, but an entire extirpation by baniſhment or death? But I think it would be but juſt, that the *Pædobaptiſts* ſhould firſt agree in the principles on which they found their practice of *Infant-baptiſm*, rather then perſecute the *Baptiſts* for diſſenting in that point from them. For in my judgment, if *Infant-baptiſm* was an inſtitution of Chriſt, the *Pædobaptiſts* could not be at ſuch a loſs about the grounds of the right *Infants* have to *Baptiſm*. Some affirm, it is to take away original ſin. Others ſay, it is their right by the *covenant*, they being the ſeed of *believers*. Others again ſay, *Infants* have *faith*, and therefore have a right. Others, that they have a right by the *faith* of their *ſureties*. Some ground their right from an *apoſtolical tradition*. Others upon the *authority* of the *ſcriptures*. Some ſay all *children* of *profeſſing chriſtians* ought to be

be baptized. Others ſay, *none* but the *children* of *true believers* have a right to it. Sure if it was an *ordinance of Chriſt*, his word would ſoon end this *controverſy*.

IT is very remarkable, and worthy the reader's obſervation, how much the *aſſertors* of *Infant-baptiſm* differ among themſelves, about that *faith* they ſuppoſe to be in infants. For ſome of them aſſert, they have the *faith* of the *church*, that being entail'd upon all that are within the pale thereof. Thus the *Roman Catholicks*. Others ſay, they have the *faith* of the *goſſips* or *ſureties*. Thus the *Church* of *England*. *Muſculus* ſeems to aſſert they have an *imputed faith*. Mr. *Baxter* intimates they have a *dogmatical faith* only; but does not tell us how it agrees with, or differs from the *faith* of the *adult*. Some ſay it is a *phyſical faith*; ſome a *metaphyſical*; and ſome a *hyperphyſical faith*: Hard words and unſcriptural I muſt confeſs; no wonder they are ſo little underſtood. Some ſay they are born *believers*, which proceeds from their parents being in *covenant*, and being *believers*; but this is to entail *grace* to *nature*, and *regeneration* to *generation*; nay, and to aſſert, all are not children of wrath by *nature*, or as they are born and come into the world. Others ſay they are made *believers* by *baptiſm*, that ordinance conveying *grace*. But to which of all theſe ſhall we give credit?

dit? The truth is, they all ſpeak without book, having no ground from *God's word* to ſay as they do

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Baptiſts* were ſome of the firſt of the Diſſenters from the eſtabliſh'd Church, who ſhew'd their abhorrence of *Oliver's* uſurpation, and made overtures to the King for his reſtoration; and although they fully clear'd themſelves from being any ways concern'd in the *inſurrection* made by *Venner* and his accomplices: Yet they were ſo far from being allow'd the liberty of their religion, that the firſt and moſt violent perſecution was chiefly level'd againſt them; as the following relations will make appear.

IMMEDIATELY after the riſing of *Venner* and his accomplices, Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, and divers other godly and peaceable perſons, were hal'd out of their houſes, and committed, ſome to *Woodſtreet-counter*, ſome to *Newgate*, and many to other priſons. Hanſerd Knollys *and others impriſon'd.*

MR. *Vavaſor Powel* was taken from his houſe by a company of ſoldiers, and carried to priſon, from thence he was conducted to *Salop*, and committed with ſeveral others, to the cuſtody of a marſhal; where they continu'd priſoners about nine weeks; and then by order of the King and Council, he was releas'd with the reſt of his brethren. Vavaſor Powel *and others impriſon'd.*

John Bunyan *impriſon'd.*

IT was about this time, that the famous Mr. *John Bunyan* was apprehended at a meeting, and carried before a Juſtice of the peace; who committed him to priſon, though he offer'd ſecurity for his appearing at the next ſeſſions. At the ſeſſions he was indicted for an upholder and maintainer of unlawful aſſemblies and conventicles, and for not conforming to the Church of *England*. He was a man of a free and open ſpirit, and would not diſſemble to ſave himſelf, eſpecially in his Maſter's cauſe; and therefore frankly own'd his being at a meeting and preaching to the people, and that he was a diſſenter from the eſtabliſh'd church. The Juſtices took his open and plain dealing with them, for a confeſſion of the indictment; and ſentenc'd him to perpetual baniſhment, becauſe he refus'd to conform, in purſuance of an Act made by the then Parliament. Upon which he was again committed to priſon; where, though his ſentence of baniſhment was never executed upon him; yet he was kept in priſon 12 years, and ſuffer'd much under cruel and oppreſſing goalers. There were in the priſon with him, two eminent diſſenting miniſters, *viz.* Mr. *Wheeler* and Mr. *Dun*, both very well known in *Bedfordſhire*; and above threeſcore diſſenters beſides. After he had ſuffer'd twelve years impriſonment for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, he was releas'd

releas'd on the importunity of Dr. *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

THEY were neither abbettors of this treaſonable inſurrection, nor privy to it, nor could their enemies fix any thing of that nature upon them; but they had the oaths of *ſupremacy* and *allegiance* tender'd to them, which it was impoſſible for any diſſenter to take; becauſe by this, they muſt acknowledge the King *ſupreme head* of the Church, and ſwear allegiance to him in all eccleſiaſtical matters, as well as civil: And their refuſing to take this, was made the pretence for keeping them in cuſtody. So that from the time of this *mad inſurrection*, to the coronation of the King, which was about 18 weeks, many upon this account were kept cloſe priſoners. Above 400 were crouded into *Newgate*, beſides what were in the other priſons belonging to the *city* and places adjacent: But then an act of pardon being granted to all offenders, except murderers, they were all ſet at liberty.

ANOTHER inſtance of their ſeverity towards the *Baptiſts* above all others, appear'd in this. 'The parliament aſſem-'bled upon the reſtoration, ſays Dr. *Wall*, 'expreſs'd the diſlike the nation had con-'ceiv'd againſt the tenets and behaviour 'of theſe men [meaning *Anabaptiſts*] 'when making an act, for the confirm-'ing all miniſters in the poſſeſſion of 'their

Hiſt. of Bapt. Vol. II. *p.* 215.

'their benefices, how *heterodox* ſoever they 'had been, provided they would con- 'form for the future, they excepted ſuch 'as had been of this way.'

As they would give this people the leaſt encouragement to conform, ſo they treated them the moſt cruelly and barbarouſly for their diſſenting; as will appear by the following relations.

Baptiſts *impriſon'd at* Reading.

MR. *Jeſſey*, an eminent and learned miniſter of the *Baptiſts*, gives us an account from *Reading-priſon*, where divers peaceable *Baptiſts* were put, having oaths put upon them, which they were not ſatisfied to take; who wrote to him of the Lord's inſtructing and comforting them under theſe their ſufferings for his ſake. Their words are theſe:

The Lord's loud Call, p. 24.

'OUR Lord and King, whom we 'ſerve, hath brought us under his own 'pavilion; and *his banner over* us hath 'been and ſtill *is love*; and hath been 'teaching of us theſe leſſons following.

'FIRST, In the loſs of all outward 'things, having Chriſt, we enjoy all 'things, and are ſatisfied in the Lord; 'we ſhall take the ſpoiling of our goods 'with far more comfort, than the enemy 'will do in the ſpending of them, for 'that word is very much upon our hearts 'concerning him.

Job xx. 22, 23.

'SECONDLY, We hope we have learn- 'ed, in whatſoever condition we are in,

'to

'to be therewith contented; and are per-
'ſuaded in our hearts, this is given us in as
'an anſwer of many prayers breath'd forth
'unto the Lord on our behalfs.

'THIRDLY, That whereas formerly
'we could hardly part with any thing for
'the Lord, we are now made willing by
'him, to part with all things for him, and
'to ſay with good old *Ely*, *It is the Lord*, 1 Sam. iii.
'*let him do what he pleaſeth*; and that 18.
'in *Job*, is ſet before us for our exam-
'ple, upon whom the ends of the world
'are come; *The Lord giveth, and the Lord* Job i. 22,
'*taketh away*; *bleſſed be the name of the* 23.
'*Lord. In all this* Job *ſinned not*, &c.

'FOURTHLY, We have ſince our
'confinement taſted a greater ſweetneſs
'in the promiſes of the Lord than for-
'merly; and particularly theſe places Phil. iv.
'following, we have ſweet experience of, 19.
'and we can truly ſay by experience, *That* 1 Pet. v.
'*faithful is he, that hath thus promiſed, for* 7.
'*he hath alſo done it*; *it is the Lord's doing* Deuteron.
'*and is marvellous in our eyes.* We are xxxiii. 25.
'alſo brought by the power of his grace,
'to a more watchful frame over our
'hearts, thoughts, and actions, by theſe
'trials than formerly. One thing had
'almoſt ſlip'd our memory, the know-
'ledge of which will we hope rejoice our
'hearts; that our relations that are pre-
'cious to the Lord, and to us, bear this
'our ſuffering with incomparable pati-
'ence;

'ence, rather ſinging for joy, than weep-
'ing for grief: Alſo our *ſocieties* from
'whence we were taken, are exceeding
'chearful, and a very lively ſpirit of faith
'and prayer is amongſt them; and their
'meetings rather encreaſeth than other-
'wiſe. Sure, *That the Lord is near, his*
'*wondrous works declare; for the ſinging of*
'*birds is come, and the turtle is heard in*
'*our land.*

'AND now, brethren, foraſmuch as
'the mercies expected and pray'd for by
'us, are to be enjoy'd in the way of
'righteouſneſs, it greatly concerns us, we
'cry mightly to the Lord, as did his
Iſa. lxii. 1. 'ſervant of old. Then ſhall we have
'that new name which God will give
'us, which is expreſs'd in the laſt verſe
'of that chapter.

'Now the God of all peace fill you
'with peace and joy in believing; ſo
'pray your brethren through grace,

John Jones,
Robert Keate,
John Peck,
Richard Steed,
Thomas Jones,
John Coombes.

BY a letter from *Newport* in *Wales*, about this time, came to Mr. *Jeſſey* the following account.

'TO

'To give you a full account of the hard 'dealings we now meet with from ſome. 'Laſt Lord's-day with naked ſwords and 'ſtaves, they attempted to ſet upon Mr. '*H. W.* and Mr. *W. J.* but theſe by 'their peaceable carriage ſtay'd their hands 'from blows; it being an aſſembly of 'rude ſoldiers, and moſt or many *Papiſts*, 'that came together againſt ſermon was 'ended in *Lauvihaugel Laularnum*, which 'they had deſign'd ſince the night before, 'eſpecially as we underſtand to cut off 'Mr. *W.* Mr. *J.* and another friend that 'lives in that town; though 'tis like, if 'they had but the leaſt juſt occaſion or 'any pretence to fall upon them, they 'would have ſpared none of the reſt. 'Since the Lord was pleas'd to bring us 'ſafe from under their hands, they con-'tinu'd, it ſeems; their carouſing all that 'day till midnight, and fought, and dan-'gerouſly wounded one another. And 'as we underſtand, made uſe of that to 'accuſe us at *London*; though we have 'neither ſpoken, nor acted any thing 'contrary to the publick peace, though 'for our own defence, we were ſuffici-'ently provok'd thereunto. This is writ, 'that as occaſion is, a true relation here-'of may be given.'

THE kingdom being in a great ferment, ſo that the *Baptiſts* could promiſe them- Anno 1661.

themſelves no ſecurity from diſturbance. They therefore publiſh'd an addreſs to the King, Parliament and People, entitled, *Sion's groans for her diſtreſs'd*; or, *ſober endeavours to prevent innocent blood*, &c. The occaſion of the publication of it, they deliver in this ſhort epiſtle to the reader, thus:

'*Courteous Reader*,

'WITH burthen'd hearts, as once the two diſciples travelling unto *Emaus* ſpoke to Chriſt, a ſuppos'd ſtranger, ſo ſpeak we unto thee. Art thou a ſtranger in our *iſland*, and haſt not known the things that have come to paſs in theſe our days; while the father hath been divided againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father, three againſt two, and two againſt three. Even a man's foes, they of his own houſhold; ſo great have been our diviſions like *Reuben*, that no ſooner light hath been by God's grace manifeſted to the begetting children of the free-woman, but preſently they are perſecuted by the children of the bond-woman. And how unpleaſing this is to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and how unlike his golden rule that ſaith; *And all things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do*

'*to*

'*to you, do ye even ſo to them; for this is*
'*the law and the prophets*: We ſay,
'how unpleaſing this is to him; judge
'upon thy ſerious peruſal of this fol-
'lowing treatiſe, which we commend
'to thy peruſal in thy moſt retir'd con-
'ſideration, when thou canſt read with
'thy thoughts leaſt cumbred with other
'buſineſs. Our deſign in what we beg
'may be peruſed, is general good, in
'ſetting at liberty that which God
'made free, even the conſcience. Thou
'canſt not be ignorant of the great
'controverſy that now is on foot, as
'to *uniformity in worſhip*, to impoſe
'by violence, where they cannot per-
'ſuade, under ſeeming pretence of ſcrip-
'ture-warrant and antiquity; the con-
'trary to which is aſſerted in the words
'of truth and ſoberneſs, by ſcripture,
'reaſon, and practice of the primitive
'times.

'AND leaſt violence and oppreſſing
'of conſcience ſhould run up to that
'heighth, till it terminate in the blood
'of ſome who are dear, and their blood
'precious in the eyes of the God of all
'the earth; therefore have we commit-
'ted this unto the view of all men, as
'part of the work of our generation, in
'ſingleneſs of heart: And remain lovers
'and prayers for all men, *that we might*

'*live a peaceable and a quiet life in all* '*godliness and honesty.*

The 8th day of the 3d month, 1661.

'*Farewel,*

Thomas Monck, *Francis Stanley,*
Joseph Wright, *William Reynolds,*
George Hammon, *Francis Smith.*
William Jeffery,

HAVING in my former volume shewn the opposition made to a *toleration*, by the city magistracy, the Assembly of Divines, the ministers of *London*, *Lancashire* and *Warwickshire*, &c. I should not do justice to the *English Baptists*, if I should pass by, or abridge this their address to the King, Parliament and People, for a *toleration*. Which seems to me so full and strong, and containing such cogent arguments, urg'd with so much life and spirit; that he would have an hard task, that should undertake to confute them. I shall, therefore, deliver the whole in their own words.

'AS *all the holy scriptures*, say they, '*have been written aforetime for our learn-* '*ing and admonition, upon whom the ends* '*of the world are come*; so that particu- 'lar book of the *Revelation*, is of such 'excellent worth, *That blessed is he that* '*readeth, and they that hear the words of* '*this prophecy, and keep those things that* '*are written therein; for the time is at* '*hand.*

'*hand.* In which book, in no leſs than three ſeveral texts it is teſtified; that the nations of the world, and inhabiters of the earth with their kings, would drink the wine of the fornication of that *abominable harlot*, that ſitteth upon people, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues; and by her ſorceries deceiveth all nations, until they become drunk, and altogether uncapable, in that condition, to receive the pure waters of life, tender'd to them in the plain way of the Goſpel of our Lord *Jeſus*. Rev. xiv. 8. Rev. xvii. 2. Rev. xviii. 3.

'THIS, with grief of heart, we ſee too viſible. For the doctrine and traditions of *Rome*, who is myſtery *Babylon*; and ſince her apoſtacy the mother of harlots; (*For the woman which thou ſaweſt, is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth*;) have ſo corrupted the earth, and clouded the underſtandings of the ſons of men, that the great and moſt important truths of God cannot be receiv'd or believ'd. The reaſon why the nations are ſo generally beguil'd in the concernments of their ſouls is, becauſe the greateſt part being carnal and unregenerate perſons, they are naturally inclin'd to ſuch ways of worſhip, as are accompany'd with external pomp and glory. And therefore the Spirit of the Lord teſtifies, that the *great harlot* Rev. xvii. 18. Rev xvii.

'*lot* filleth her abominations, and filthy 'fornications in a golden cup; like the 'phyſician that gilds his bitter pill, that 'his patient may the better ſwallow it.

'THUS doth the *Romiſh* church, and 'her followers; who to make their *car-* 'nal ordinances find the better reception, 'deliver them to the inhabitants of the 'earth, by ſuch as are honourable a- 'mongſt men; in worldly ſanctuaries, 'moſt magnificently built and adorn'd, 'endow'd with lordly revenues, accom- 'pany'd with muſick and voices, and 'pontifical veſtments; yea, many ſuper- 'ſtitions and cuſtoms merely earthly and 'ſenſual, if not worſe. Which, we ſay, 'ſo pleaſeth the earthly and unregenerate 'man, that he is ready to ſay, this is the 'beſt religion, which is of moſt eſteem 'in the nations, and accompany'd with 'all earthly glory and delights: Altoge- 'ther forgetting, *That ſtrait is the gate,* Matt. vii. 14. 'and narrow is the way that leads to life, Luke xvi. 15. 'and few there be that find it. And 'that which is highly eſteem'd among 'men, is abomination in the ſight of 'God.

'AND if it had been the mind of the 'Lord *Jeſus*, that the Goſpel ſhould have 'been recommended unto the world, and 'accompany'd with theſe ceremonies and 'formalities that are practis'd in the wor- 'ſhip of the nations, or were us'd amongſt

'the

'the *Jews*; it is very ſtrange we ſhould
'not have one word for it all the ſcrip-
'tures of the New Teſtament; when Heb. iii.
'Chriſt was as faithful over his houſe, 2, 5, 6.
'as *Moſes* was over his, and is to be Deut.
'heard in all things, as *Moſes* himſelf xviii. 18,
'commanded. And there will be little 19.
'encouragement to touch with the *Gen-*
'*tile* nations in their ſuperſtitious ceremo-
'nies, when it ſhall be conſider'd, that
'the rites and ceremonies of the *Moſaical*
'law, being once the appointment of
'God, did far exceed in glory what the
'ſhallow inventions of the *Romiſh* or any
'of the national churches are able to pro-
'duce; yet wholly taken away. Which
'the author to the *Hebrews* notably
'proves: ſaying, *Then verily the firſt co-*
'*venant had alſo ordinances of divine ſer-*
'*vice, and a worldly ſanctuary; for there*
'*was a tabernacle made, the firſt wherein*
'*was the candleſtick, and the table, and*
'*the ſhew-bread, which is call'd the ſanc-*
'*tuary; and after the ſecond vail the ta-*
'*bernacle, which is call'd the holieſt of all.*
'They had alſo their High-Prieſt and of-
'ferings, and linen ornaments belonging
'to this covenant. But, ſaith our au-
'thor, *If that firſt covenant had been* Heb. viii.
'*faultleſs, then no place had been ſought* 7.
'*for the ſecond; and, he taketh away the* Heb. x. 9.
'*firſt, that he might eſtabliſh the ſecond.*
'And now under the ſecond covenant,

'which is the Goſpel, the *Romiſh* Biſhop, 'or any man on earth, cannot be our 'High-Preiſt. *For we have ſuch an High-* 'Prieſt, *who is ſet on the right-hand of* 'the throne *of the Majeſty in the heavens*; 'a miniſter *of the ſanctuary, and of the* 'tabernacle *which the Lord pitcheth, and* 'not man.

'AND under this ſecond covenant, 'God hath not promiſed his preſence to 'any temple built with wood and ſtone, Acts vii. 48. 'as of old; *For now the Moſt High* 'dwelleth not *in temples made with hands*, 'as the ſuperſtitious clergy would per-'ſuade us; but *where two or three are* 'gather'd together *in the name of Chriſt*, 'there is he *in the midſt of them*; altho' 'it be in a houſe, by a river's ſide, on 'a mountain, or in a wilderneſs; ſuch 'little reſpect hath he to *place*.

'AS little reſpect hath God to *perſons*, 'becauſe of any honour or eſteem they 'may have in the world, either for birth or 'natural endowments; but ſuch as uſu-'ally are *fooliſh*, *weak*, *and baſe in the eyes* 'of the world, doth he make uſe of in 'the work of the Goſpel; that ſo the 1 Cor. i. 26, &c. 'learned *Doctors*, and *Maſters of Art* 'may not have wherewithal to boaſt.

'WHICH deſpis'd way of the Goſpel, 'we well know, becomes a *ſtumbling* 'block to the *Gentile Nations*, as in the 'firſt delivery of it, it did unto the

'*Jews*,

'*Jews*, who *would not receive the Lord* '*of life*, nor his doctrine, becauſe not 'accompany'd with that earthly glory 'which their corrupt hearts affected: 'And rather would retain that exploded 'diſpenſation of the law, which God had 'departed from, than they would receive 'the glorious Goſpel by thoſe hands the 'wiſdom of God thought fit to tender 'it. For which obſtinacy, as the Apo- 'ſtle *Paul* ſaith, *The wrath of God is* '*come upon them to the uttermoſt*, even 'to the laying waſte their temple and ci- 'ties, the great ſlaughter of their perſons, 'and captivating their poſterity, as at 'this day. Let therefore the *Gentile Na-* 1 Theſſ. 'tions fear; but more eſpecially this na- ii. 16. 'tion. For ſome ſuch ſpirit ſeems to ap- 'pear amongſt thoſe that would retain 'their empty and dead forms of wor- 'ſhip, which God hath ſhewed his diſ- 'pleaſure againſt, and have no footing in 'the whole book of God, rather than 'they will receive the pure way of God, 'without the mixture of human inven- 'tions and traditions.

'BUT the bare rejection of truth, and 'embracing of error, is not all the evil, 'that the nations generally are engag'd 'in by the Church of *Rome*, and her 'followers; but for to compleat and fill 'up the meaſure of their iniquities, like '*Nebuchadnezzar*, nothing leſs muſt be

'in-

‘ inflicted on the ſervants of the Moſt High ‘ God, that cannot bow down to the ‘ *Golden Image* of their inventions, than ‘ the *fiery furnace* of *perſecution*; many ‘ times unto death itſelf.

‘ AND this the people of the Lord muſt ‘ endure; it being as certain their portion ‘ to be perſecuted, as it is the practice of ‘ the falſe Church to perſecute; who ‘ build their ſuperſtructures of will-wor- ‘ ſhip on no other foundations but violence ‘ and cruelty. Elſe what mean theſe im- ‘ priſonments, baniſhments, wars, and ‘ maſſacres, which have been made in ‘ *Europe* for religion? What troubles and ‘ deſolations in *Germany*; civil commo- ‘ tions in *France*; cruelties exercis'd in ‘ the *Netherlands*, by that darling of ‘ the *Romiſh* Church, the Duke of *Al- ‘ va*, and others? What maſſacres in ‘ *France*, *Piedmont* and *Ireland*, to car- ‘ ry on the buſineſs of religion, for the ‘ ſatisfaction of a blood-thirſty and inſa- ‘ tiable Clergy; when the diſciples of the ‘ Lord *Jeſus* were to uſe no other vio- ‘ lence againſt thoſe that rejected them, ‘ than to *ſhake the duſt from their feet*, ‘ which would be a witneſs againſt them ‘ at the tribunal of *Jeſus*, not *Cæſar*'s? ‘ Yea, this *Popiſh* principle of propagat- ‘ ing religion by the ſword, hath reach'd ‘ the poor *Americans*; many hundred ‘ thouſands of them having been deſtroy'd,

Acts xiii. 51. Matt. x. 14, 15.

‘ becauſe

'because they would not be *proselytes*, 'no other cause being to be given. For 'it cannot be suppos'd, those remote and 'simple people had so much as known 'the *Spaniard*, much less done any in-'jury unto him. Our own nation hath 'also felt the rage of this fury, both be-'fore, and in the reign of Queen *Mary*. 'And the wise may judge, whether the 'Bishops endeavours to impose their li-'turgy in *Scotland*, with their cruelties in '*England*, did not contribute much to 'our late unhappy troubles. But cer-'tainly if the *Romish* and national clergy 'were guided by the Spirit of God, the 'authority of Scripture, or force of argu-'ment to support their forms of worship; 'they would not then impose them by 'external force; when by such proceed-'ings they render themselves altogether 'unlike the Lord *Jesus*, the prince of 'peace; *who came not to destroy men's 'lives, but to save them.*

'BUT on the contrary, it will evince 'to all that have their eyes open, how 'like they are to that woman, which is '*drunken with the blood of saints, and* Rev. xvii. 6. '*with the blood of the martyrs of* Jesus; Rev. xviii. 24. '*in whom will be found the blood of pro-'phets, and of saints, and of all that were 'slain on the earth.* Altho' as our Lord 'and master hath foretold, in killing o-John xvi. 2. 'thers,

'thers, ſhe may think ſhe doth God ſer-
'vice.

'LEST, therefore, thoſe unchriſtian 'principles of perſecution for conſcience, 'which troubleth the world, ſhould take 'root in this nation, to the ſtirring up 'men's minds to ſhed the blood of the 'innocent, the guilt whereof is able to 'ſink the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms into 'an ocean of miſery and calamity; we 'have here following written ſome argu-'ments, which we humbly offer to all 'men, to prove how contrary to the 'Goſpel of our Lord *Jeſus*, and to good 'reaſon, it is for any magiſtrate, by out-'ward force, to impoſe any thing in the 'worſhip of God, on the conſciences of 'thoſe whom they govern; but that li-'berty ought to be given to all ſuch, as 'diſturb not the civil peace, though of 'different perſuaſions in religious matters. 'In which diſcourſe we neither deſire 'nor deſign to diminiſh any of that pow-'er which God hath given to the King's 'Majeſty that now reigneth: Whom we 'own to be chief magiſtrate and gover-'nour of theſe nations, over all perſons, as 'well eccleſiaſtical as temporal. And to 'all his commands that do not oppoſe the 'ſcriptures of truth, ſhall we yield active 'obedience, not only for wrath, but al-'ſo for conſcience ſake. And if any 'thing otherwiſe ſhall be requir'd, we

'ſhall

'ſhall be paſſive, and ſuffer what may 'be inflicted on us for our conſciences. 'For whatever hath been ſuggeſted by 'evil men; yet that magiſtracy and go-'vernment is an ordinance of God, hath 'been frequently aſſerted in our diſcourſes 'and writings, and is by us believ'd, as 'fully as the Apoſtle *Paul* in the 13th 'of the *Romans* hath taught. And all 'that we deſire, which is dearer to us 'than our lives, is, that our ſpirits and 'conſciences may be left free to ſerve 'the Eternal God: Which ought to be 'granted us, ſeeing, as the ſame Apoſtle 'ſaith in theſe caſes, *We ſhall every one 'of us give an account of himſelf to God.*

See the confeſſion of faith, printed in March 1659; *and ſince re-printed, and preſented to his Majeſty.*

Rom. xiv. 12.

'But to our arguments. The firſt of 'which ſhall be that, which ſome of us 'made uſe of to the King's Majeſty from '*Maidſtone*; which we have not yet ſeen 'weaken'd.

'LET it, therefore, be conſider'd, If 'any magiſtrate under heaven, in the 'days of the Goſpel, hath power by out-'ward force to impoſe any thing in the 'worſhip and ſervice of God on the con-'ſcience; it is given him as he is a ma-'giſtrate only, or as a chriſtian ſo con-'ſider'd. But that no ſuch power is 'given by God to any magiſtrate, ap-'pears,

'1. BECAUSE if magiſtrates as ſuch, 'have ſuch an authority; then all magi-

'ſtrates

'ſtrates in all nations have the ſame pow-
'er. Then, if we liv'd in *Turkey*, muſt
'we receive the *Alcoran*, and be wor-
'ſhippers of *Mahomet*; if in *Spain*, be
'*Papiſts*; in *England*, ſometimes *Papiſts*,
'as in *Henry* VIII's days, *Proteſtants* in
'*Edward* VI's, *Papiſts* again in Queen
'*Mary*'s; and *Proteſtants* again in Queen
'*Elizabeth*'s. And ſo for ever, as the
'authority changes religion, we muſt do
'the ſame; but God forbid, for nothing
'is more abſurd.

'2. SEEING in the days of the Goſ-
'pel, the Lord *Jeſus* is that great *Pro-*
'*phet, which* as *Moſes* ſaid, *is to be heard*
'*in all things*; and as himſelf teſtifieth,
Matt. xxviii. 18. '*Hath all power in heaven and earth gi-*
'*ven unto him:* Then if magiſtrates have
'power to impoſe any thing by outward
'force on the conſcience, it muſt be com-
'mitted unto them from the Lord *Jeſus*,
'and written in the ſcriptures of the New
'Teſtament; or elſe how doth it appear?
1 Cor. iv. 6. '*Let no man think of men above that*
'*which is written.* But the whole ſtream
'of the New Teſtament ſcriptures run
'clear in another channel. And there is
'no colour for any ſuch impoſition, as
'farther appears,

'3. BECAUSE the Apoſtles themſelves,
'that gave forth thoſe commands which
'are written in ſcripture, to be obedient
'to magiſtrates, refus'd to be obedient to

'their

'their rulers, when they were command-
'ed to forbear, that which they judg'd
'part of the worſhip of God: And ſaid,
'*Whether it be right in the ſight of God,* Acts iv.
'*to hearken unto you more than unto God,* 19, 20.
'*judge ye.*

'4. ALL the ſcriptures of the New
'Teſtament, that enjoin obedience unto
'magiſtrates, were written when the *Ro-*
'*mans* had the empire of the world;
'whoſe Emperors were for the moſt part,
'if not all, *heatheniſh* idolators, for the
'firſt three hundred years, until *Conſtan-*
'*tine's* time. It, therefore, cannot be
'ſuppos'd, that any of thoſe texts of ſcrip-
'ture, that call for obedience to magiſ-
'trates, intend an obedience in matters of
'faith: For then the Chriſtians that liv'd
'under thoſe Emperors muſt needs have
'denied Chriſt, and worſhipped the *Ro-*
'*man* Gods, as ſome of the Emperors *As* Dio-
'commanded. cleſian,
Euſeb.

'5. IF magiſtrates, as ſuch, have Book
'power from God in the days of the Goſ- VIII.
'pel to command in ſpiritual matters, chap. 3.
'and to puniſh thoſe that obey not: Then
'muſt Chriſtians ſurely be actually obe-
'dient, *not only for wrath, but alſo for*
'*conſcience ſake*: becauſe elſe they ſhould
'*reſiſt the ordinance of God.* But if this
'were true, the way to heaven would be
'ſo far from being *ſtrait and narrow*, that
'any might be a *diſciple of Chriſt*, with- Luke xiv.
'out 17.

'out *taking up the croſs and following him*; yea all ſufferings and perſecutions 'ſhould wholly be at an end, and they 'that undergo them ſhould utterly be 'condemn'd. For it is not to be ſup-'pos'd there could be perſecutions, if all 'the commands of the magiſtrate in ſpi-'ritual cauſes were actually to be obey'd. 'It, therefore, reaſonably follows; that 'no magiſtrate, as ſuch, hath power from 'God to compel in ſpiritual cauſes. But
Rev. vii. 14, 15. Jam. i. 12. Acts xiv. 22. 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12.
'on the contrary, for ſaints to endure 'perſecutions and ſufferings rather than 'actually obey, is abundantly by the Lord 'foretold, rewarded and juſtified; as by 'the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament 'appears.

'BUT if it be objected, that neither 'the magiſtrate is to command, nor the 'ſubjects actually to obey, any thing but 'what is according to the mind of God; it 'is anſwer'd, that all magiſtrates ſuppoſe 'whatever they impoſe to be ſo; but the 'queſtion is, who is to determine. For 'if the magiſtrate, or any other man, or 'men, have power from God to judge 'and determine what is lawful for men 'to obey; then no room is left for them 'to diſpute the lawfulneſs of any of his 'commands, it being their duty to obey 'whatever is commanded; and ſo as it hath 'been ſaid before, *the croſs of Chriſt ceaſes.*
Rom. xiv. 12.
'*But if every one ſhall give account for*

'*himſelf*

'*himſelf to God*; then it reaſonably follows, that every man muſt judge for himſelf in matters ſpiritual: And therefore, for the magiſtrate to compel, cannot be warrantable by ſcripture or reaſon. Joſh. xxiv. 15.

'AGAIN: That the power to judge and determine in ſpiritual matters, is not in a magiſtrate as ſuch, *Gallio* the *Roman* deputy of *Achaia* well underſtood, when the *Jews* made inſurrection with one accord againſt *Paul*, and brought him to the judgment-ſeat, ſaying, *This fellow perſuadeth men to worſhip God contrary to the law.* Which almoſt ever ſince hath been the great cry by all ſorts of the *national clergy*, whoſe turns it hath been to have the magiſtrate on their ſides, againſt all others that have differ'd from them. But *Gallio* ſaid; *If it were a matter of wrong, or wicked lewdneſs, O ye* Jews, *reaſon would that I ſhould bear with you: But if it be a queſtion of words, and names, and of your law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of ſuch matters. And he drave them from the judgment-ſeat.* Which worthy example, if magiſtrates would be perſuaded to follow, by judging and puniſhing only civil injuries and wrongs, and leaving ſpiritual differences to be decided and judg'd, and puniſh'd by *Jeſus Chriſt* according Acts xviii. 12, &c.

But in that he ſuffer'd Soſthenes *to be beaten he did not well, it being a civil injury.*

'to the Gospel; they then would find 'themselves and governments quickly 'free from many inconveniences that 'now they are involv'd in, about decid-'ing religious controversies, with exter-'nal force and power.

'AND now that no magistrate, altho' 'a christian, hath power to be a lord over 'another's faith, or by outward force to 'impose any thing in the worship of 'God, is also very clear.

'1. BECAUSE the Lord *Jesus* him-'himself would never by any outward force 'compel men to receive him or his doc-'trine. For when his disciples, supposing 'they might use violence, as under the 'law, would have commanded fire to 'come down from heaven, as *Elias* did, to 'consume them that would not receive 'him, Christ turn'd and rebuk'd them; Luke ix. 54, &c. 'saying, *Ye know not what spirit ye are 'of; for the son of man is not come to de-'stroy mens lives, but to save them.* And 'most remarkable doth it appear, that it 'is not the intent of the Lord *Jesus*, that 'judgment should be executed on those 'that reject his words, to the punishing 'them in their bodies and estates in this 'life, as under the law, from his own John xii. 47, 48. 'sayings, which speak thus: *If any man 'hear my words, and believe not, I judge 'him not: for I came not to judge the 'world, but to save the world. He that*

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'*rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have ſpoken, the ſame ſhall judge him at the laſt day.* And the Apoſtles alſo, were ſo far from propagating the Goſpel by outward violence and force, that all their proceedings were by intreaty and perſuaſion; and in caſe of reſiſtance, to ſhake the duſt from their feet as a witneſs againſt their oppoſers. Nor will it avail to ſay, becauſe the magiſtrate exerciſes authority on civil and temporal things, which the Lord Chriſt would not, that therefore in ſpiritual things they may do the ſame; unleſs it may be ſuppos'd the magiſtrates right to have ſupremacy over the world to come, in all heavenly and eternal things; becauſe God hath given him power over the world that now is, in earthly and temporal things. Which may be conjectur'd upon as good ground from what is written, as that a magiſtrate under the Goſpel diſpenſation hath more power in ſpiritual cauſes, than the Lord Chriſt or his Apoſtles would exerciſe; eſpecially, ſeeing there is not the leaſt warrant for any ſuch power from Chriſt or the Apoſtles, from any thing that is written in the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament. *And to the law, and to the teſtimony; if they ſpeak*

Matt. x. 14. Acts xiii. 52.

As the dividing inheritances, &c.

'*not according to this word, it is becauſe*
'*there is no light in them.*

'2. IF any men, as Chriſtians under
'heaven, have had any ſuch power in
'the days of the Goſpel, the Apoſtles and
'Elders in the primitive times muſt needs
'have had it. But this they utterly diſ-
2 Cor. i. 24. 'claim'd; As *Paul*, *Not for that we*
'*have dominion over your faith, but are*
'*helpers of your joy: for by faith ye ſtand.*
'Yea, the Lord *Jeſus*, when they ſtrove
Matt. xx. 25. 'for domination, forbids it, ſaying: *Ye*
'*know that the princes of the Gentiles ex-*
'*erciſe dominion over them, and they that*
'*are great, do exerciſe authority upon*
'*them; but it ſhall not be ſo amongſt*
'*you.* Even ſo ſaith *Peter*, ſpeaking to
1 Pet. v. 2, 3. 'the Elders; *Feed the flock of God which*
'*is amongſt you, taking the overſight*
'*thereof, not by conſtraint, but willingly;*
'*not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.*
'*Neither as being lords over God's heri-*
'*tage, but being examples to the flock.*
'Why therefore the Chriſtian Religion
'ſhould be built and ſupported by vio-
'lence and cruelty, when the foundation
'was laid, and the work carried on all
'the Apoſtles days, and ſome hundred of
'years after, by a quite contrary means;
'is a queſtion would be reſolved by thoſe,
'whoſe ſtrongeſt argument for the ſup-
'port of their religion is, TAKE HIM,
'JAYLOR. For ſuch is the difference

'between

'between the way which the Apoſtles and
'primitive ſaints took, in carrying on the
'work of the Goſpel, and approving
'themſelves to be the Miniſters of God,
'and the way now uſed by the *national*
'*Clergy*, than which nothing is more un-
'like. They being ambaſſadors for the 2 Cor. v.
'prince of peace, did in his ſtead beſeech 20.
'and pray the diſobedient to be reconcil'd
'to God; never ſtirring up the nations
'to ruin, and deſtroy by external violence
'thoſe that oppos'd them in their mini-
'ſtry; but as the Apoſtle *Paul* ſaith, *Be-* 1 Cor. iv.
'*ing reviled, we bleſs; being perſecuted, we* 12, 13.
'*ſuffer it: Being defamed, we entreat.*
'*Giving no offence in any thing, that the* 2 Cor. vi.
'*miniſtry be not blamed: But in all things* 3, &c.
'*approving ourſelves as the miniſters of*
'*God, in much patience, in afflictions, in*
'*neceſſities, in diſtreſſes, in ſtripes, in impri-*
'*ſonments, in tumults, in labours, in watch-*
'*ings, in faſtings, by pureneſs, by knowledge,*
'*by long-ſuffering, by kindneſs, by the Holy*
'*Ghoſt, by love unfeigned*, &c. O ye ru-
'lers of the world, and inhabitants of the
'earth, this was the way, the Lord of all
'things, with his diſciples and followers,
'took to plant and eſtabliſh the doctrine
'of the Goſpel in the hearts and affec-
'tions of the ſons of men. Be ye not
'therefore unlike thoſe whom you ſay you
'follow, by impoſing your doctrines and
'traditions by the violence of penal laws and

'edicts, to the *impriſoning*, *baniſhing*, and
'*ſpoiling* the goods of the conſcientious;
'cauſing them, as the ſaints of old, to
Heb. xi. 36, &c. 'be *deſtitute*, *afflicted*, *and tormented*, al-
'though for their innocency and upright-
'neſs, *the world is not worthy of them.*

'3. IT is very plain, that the Lord *Je-*
Matt. xiii. '*ſus* himſelf, in his parable of the *tares*
'and *wheat*, forbids any outward force
'or violence to be exerciſed upon falſe
'worſhippers and hereticks as ſuch. For
'by the *tares*, which he forbids the pul-
'ling up, cannot be intended the tranſ-
'greſſors of the ſecond table, ſuch as
'*thieves*, *murderers*, or any that ſhould
'do that civil injury or wrong unto ano-
'ther, which he would not have done
'unto himſelf. For all confeſs with one
'conſent, that the magiſtrates authority
'reaches ſuch. Neither can it be in-
'tended that *the children of the wicked*
'*one*, in any ſenſe, that viſibly appear to
'be ſo, ſhould be tolerated in the church;
'for that deſtroys the power of excom-
'munication. That which unavoidably
'then follows is, that although men are
'*tares*, or *the children of the wicked one*,
'by erring in the worſhip of God, yet
'ſhould they not be *plucked up*, but *to-*
'*lerated in the field of the world*, until
'the *harveſt* ſhall come, *at the end of*
'*this world*; when the *angels*, who are to
'be the reapers, and infallibly can diſtin-

'guiſh

'guiſh between the *tares* and the *wheat*, 'which no magiſtrate now can, ſhall 'gather the *tares* in bundles, and *caſt 'them into a furnace of fire*; *there ſhall 'be wailing and gnaſhing of teeth.* Which 'ſcripture ſo eminently concludes for a '*toleration*; that the greateſt enemies to 'true liberty have been at a great loſs, 'when they have endeavour'd to make it 'ſpeak ſome other thing. As that ex- J. T. *Supplement*, P. 29. 'poſitor is, who ſays; *It ſeems to him, 'not to note the duty of the civil magiſ- 'trate, but the event of God's providence, 'that God would permit the co-habitation 'of the wicked in the world with the juſt; 'not that magiſtrates or miniſters ſhould 'permit them, and not by civil puniſhment 'or eccleſiaſtical, remove them out of the 'church or the world.* But if men did 'not fight againſt truth, they would not 'ſo evidently contradict their own ſayings. 'For who can believe that it ſhould be the 'mind of God, to permit the co-habita- 'tion of the wicked in the world with 'the juſt, as aforeſaid, and yet the ma- 'giſtrate ſhould not permit them; but 'remove them by civil puniſhment out of 'the world? Hath the magiſtrate power 'to remove thoſe out of the world, that 'God would have permitted to live? 'How ſoon may a magiſtrate, if guided 'by ſuch doctrine, bring the blood of 'the innocent upon himſelf and nation?

2 Kings xxiv 4. *And innocent blood the Lord will not pardon.* It therefore highly concerns all magiſtrates, before they perſecute any for matters of faith or worſhip, to ſee they have a better warrant for ſo doing, than the word of men; which will not ſecure them at that day, *when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of men, by Jeſus Chriſt, according to the Goſpel.* Which will be found to be *the book that ſhall be opened,* when *the dead, both ſmall and great, ſhall ſtand before God, to be judged by what is written therein, according to their works.* As the Lord *Jeſus* ſaith: *The word that I have ſpoken, the ſame ſhall judge you at the laſt day.* And this is his word, to *let both tares and wheat grow together in the field of the world, until the harveſt.*

Rom. ii. 16

Rev. xx. 12.

So many as have lived where the word of the Goſpel comes.

4. IT can in no wiſe be ſafe for magiſtrates, in the days of the Goſpel, to perſecute and deſtroy thoſe that are contrary minded in religious matters, becauſe of their fallibility. And that is the very reaſon why the Lord *Jeſus*, in the fore-mention'd parable, forbids gathering up the *tares*; *leaſt the wheat be rooted up* along *with them.* That magiſtrates may err in ſpiritual and religious matters, woful experience hath taught the world in all ages. The Lord of Life himſelf was put to death, for

Matt. xiii. 29.

ſup-

ſuppos'd blaſphemy and wickedneſs, and accus'd for being *an enemy unto Cæſar*. Which great miſtake was committed through ignorance; as *Peter* ſaith, *And now, brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as alſo did your rulers.* Acts iii. 17. And at this day, what miſtakes are continu'd in magiſtrates about religion? Some being *Calviniſts*, as in *Holland* and *Geneva*, more *Lutherans*, but the greateſt part *Papiſts*: And each of theſe condemneth, and many times perſecuteth the other for hereſy, or ſuperſtition. Unavoidably therefore it follows, that ſome of theſe muſt err: But we need not go far for the proof of this in one and the ſame perſon, who receives that at one time for truth, which at another time muſt be perſecuted for error. This appear'd notably in King *Henry* VIII. who perſecuted the *Proteſtants* to death; and writes againſt *Luther*, for which the *Pope* gives him the title of *defender of the faith*: And yet a while after receives ſome of *Luther*'s doctrines, and rejects the ſupremacy and authority of the *Pope*; and ſerves the *Papiſts* as he did the *Proteſtants*. Nor will magiſtrates be the more free from miſtakes, by relying on the authority of Synods, Popes, or general Councils, becauſe ſuch eminent contradictions and oppoſitions have appear'd amongſt each of them, *In* Europe,

that

'that nothing is more uncertain than their
'concluſions. As for general Councils,
'whoſe authority is in the greateſt eſti-
'mation of the three, it is plain, they
'are ſo far from being infallible, that
'their decrees have been not only directly
'oppoſite to plain texts of ſcripture, and
'the practice of the primitive church,
'but alſo againſt each other. Which
'appear'd firſt in the Council of *Con-*
'ſtance, in the thirteenth ſeſſion; where
'it was decreed, that the Lord's-Supper
'ſhould be given but in one kind;
'when nothing is more plain, than that
'the Lord *Jeſus* inſtituted it; the A-
'poſtle *Paul* afterwards deliver'd it to
'the *Corinthians*; and the primitive
'church receiv'd it, with both the bread
'and the cup.

'So for the Council of *Trent*, to de-
'cree that the ſervice in the church
'ſhould be perform'd in *Latin*; how
'contrary is it to the doctrine of *Paul*;
'who ſaid, *In the church he had rather*
'ſpeak five words with underſtanding, that
'he might teach others, than ten thouſand
'words in an unknown tongue. So alſo
'have they claſh'd one with another: The
'Council of *Trent* allowing picturing of
'God the father; the Council of *Nice*
'altogether diſallowing it. And in the
'great *Arian* controverſy, which was
'no circumſtantial buſineſs, how many

'Coun-

As Jer. Taylor *now Biſhop of* Down, *in his liberty of Proph.* Sect. VI. *at large proves.*

Matt. xxvi. 26, 27.

1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

1 Cor. xiv. 19.

Councils and Conventions, were both for and againſt it?

'As little reliance can be put on any ſuppos'd infallibility the *Pope* may have; there having been two or three at one time, each raging againſt the other, with their cenſures and decrees. And notorious it is, what diſſention there was amongſt the Popes and Cardinals about Pope *Formoſus*; who being firſt Biſhop of *Pontiniack*, was degraded by Pope *John* VIII. and made to take an oath to lead a ſecular life all his days. Yet by Pope *Martin* that ſucceeded *John*, was *Formoſus* releas'd from his oath, reſtor'd to his Biſhoprick, and afterwards came to be *Pope*, and ſo continu'd 5 years, making ſeveral decrees. But *Stephen* VI. coming to the Popedom, abrogates the decrees of *Formoſus*, takes up his body, cut off two of his fingers, throws them into the river *Tyber*, and then buries him in a *Layman*'s ſepulchre. Next to *Stephen* ſucceeds *Romanus*; who on the the other hand repeals the acts and decrees of his predeceſſor *Stephen* againſt *Formoſus*. And Pope *John* X. in a ſynod at *Ravenna*, ratifies all the decrees and doings of *Formoſus*. Yet after all this, comes Pope *Sergius*, digs up again *Formoſus*, cuts of his head and three more off his fingers, and throws his body into the *Tyber*, and likewiſe depos'd

Benedict. Silveſter III. Gregory VI.

Fox's *acts and mon.* p. 188.

'pos'd all such as had been consecrated by him. All which schisms and dissentions make it plain to the world, that there is nothing of infallibility in the *Popes*.

'AND for national conventions and synods; they are so far from any shew of infallibility, that the same complection and temper the nation is of, wherein they are call'd, and have their promotions, you shall be sure to find them of; because they have their dependency on the authority that calls them together. So that although the last national synod in this nation, would have establish'd *Presbytery*, because that then was most like to take; yet it is very questionable, if now a convention be call'd, whether it will be much talk'd of amongst them.

'THEN this must be concluded from all, that seeing magistrates themselves, general Councils, Popes, or national Synods may err, in judging and determining the most weighty controversies in religion; there can therefore be no security for a magistrate that he doth well in persecuting or putting to death the contrary minded in religious matters; seeing through mistake, he may as soon persecute or put to death the true followers of the Lord *Jesus*, as any other. Yea, in likelihood much sooner; be-

'cause

'cauſe they in conſcience towards God, 'cannot receive the inventions and traditions of men, in the worſhip of God; 'but muſt be a witneſs for the eternal God againſt them, for which they are 'accounted as the ſaints of old, *peſtilent fellows, movers of ſedition, turners of the world upſide down, enemies to* Cæſar, and 'upon this account perſecuted; when the 'greateſt part of men being unregenerate, 'and having no other ſpirit in them but 'what is of this world, there is therefore 'no reaſon why the world ſhould perſecute and hate his own.

Acts xiv. 5. Acts xvii. 6, 7.

'5. FOR magiſtrates to inflict temporal puniſhments upon any of their ſubjects, for not conforming to their decrees, that enjoin any ſpiritual worſhip 'or ſervice, is undoubtedly a breach of that 'royal law, which ſays, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do you even ſo them, for this is the law and the prophets*; and is a ſure and ſtanding rule, 'by which all men, if they would deal ingenuouſly by themſelves, might meaſure 'the juſtice of their proceedings towards 'others. For who, that was not a deſperate enemy to himſelf, would put out 'another man's eye, if he was ſure his 'own ſhould be put out as ſoon as he 'had done; as he was to be ſerv'd by 'the judicial law. Neither would thoſe 'that are forward to perſecute, be very

Matt. vii. 12.

'zealous

'zealous in their proceedings, if they 'were ſure, that thoſe whom they perſe-'cute ſhould have power on their ſides, 'to *mete the ſame meaſure unto them.* And 'this is worthy of obſervation; that this 'rule of doing as we would be done un-'to, can be receiv'd and pleaded by all 'ſorts of men, whilſt they are under af-'fliction and perſecution; but who re-'members it, when they have power to 'afflict and perſecute others? The *Pa-'piſts* themſelves, when out of power, 'in this and other nations, can plead a-'gainſt perſecution for their conſcience; 'as they did in the reign of Queen *Eli-'zabeth*, procuring the letters of the Em-'peror, and other Princes, to intercede 'for ſome places to be allow'd, where 'they may worſhip by themſelves. But 'in this they deſir'd more than themſelves 'would allow to others when in power. 'So, many of the *Proteſtants*, where the 'magiſtrate is different from them in re-'ligion, can be well pleas'd with a *tole-'ration*: And *Martin Luther* in his ſer-'mon of the good ſhepherd; engliſh'd 'by *W. G.* in the year 1581, ſpeaking 'of the kingdom of Chriſt, ſaith, it is 'not govern'd at all by any force or pow-'er, but by outward preaching alone, 'that is, by the Goſpel. Why, there-'fore, cannot the *Proteſtants*, who would 'ſeem to have an honourable eſteem of 'this

Camb-den's *An-nals of* Eliz. *p.* 20.

As in France.

'this man, be of the ſame ſpirit; and 'the *Papiſts* be as much for liberty in 'proſperity, as in adverſity; ſeeing the 'Lord *Jeſus* hath not directed at one 'time, to the uſe of force and violence, 'in the work of the Goſpel; and at ano-'ther time, if the civil ſword be not to be 'procur'd, then to uſe arguments and 'perſuaſions? No, at all times the rule 'which his diſciples muſt take notice of, 'ſays, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould* Matt. vii. 'do to you, do you even ſo to them; for* 1, 2. 'with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be 'meaſured to you again.

'AND becauſe myſtery *Babylon* hath 'not regarded theſe ſayings, but exerciſ-'eth all manner of cruelties, and deaths 'upon ſuch as cannot believe as ſhe be-'lieves and practiſes; therefore God will 'find out a way to retaliate upon her all 'the blood of his ſervants; *And in the* *As at this 'cup which ſhe hath filled, ſhall it be filled to* day. 'her double. How much ſhe hath glorified* Rev. xviii. 'herſelf, and lived deliciouſly, ſo much tor-* 6, &c. 'ment and ſorrow give her: for ſhe ſaith 'in her heart, I ſit a queen, and am no wi-'dow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow. Therefore 'ſhall her plagues come in one day, death, 'and mourning and famine, and ſhe ſhall 'be utterly burnt with fire, for ſtrong is 'the Lord God who judgeth her. And the 'kings of the earth who have committed 'fornication, and lived deliciouſly with

'her,

her, ſhall bewail and lament for her. And her merchants, which are the great men of the earth, who traffick with her in things coſtly, delicate, and of eſteem in the world, and in *ſlaves, and ſouls of men,* or as by the margin it may be read, *bodies and ſouls* of men, theſe alſo *ſhall mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandize any more.* And thus the fierceneſs of God's wrath will overtake her, to the ſinking of her like a mill-ſtone, into the bottom of the ſea; becauſe the great weight of innocent blood lieth upon her. *For in her will be found the blood of prophets, and of ſaints, and of all that were ſlain upon the earth.* He that therefore would not partake with her in any of her plagues, let him flee from her, and partake not with her in any of her ſins; one of the greateſt being the perſecution of men for keeping a good conſcience. For except the great God ſhould ceaſe to be what he is, if men repent not of their deeds, there will be as certainly puniſhment, as there is ſin; and it ſhall not be the arm of fleſh that will be able to ſupport this ſtrumpet, although many kingdoms ſhould engage in her quarrel; neither ſhall the wiſdom and prudence of great ſtateſmen be able to keep off her judgments. For if men ſhould ceaſe to do any thing againſt her, yet

God

'God will make the very elements to 'fight againſt her; and will contend 'with her by famine and peſtilence, yea, 'and ſword too, altho' ſhe fears it not. 'For God will ſtir up the ten Kings to do 'his will upon her; and by his great 'works, and judgments that he will ma-'nifeſt in the earth, will he gain him-'ſelf a name, and great honour and glory. 'Even ſo, *Amen.*

'As it is no ways lawful from the 'word of God, for chriſtian magiſtrates, 'in the days of the Goſpel, to deſtroy 'and root out the contrary-minded in re-'ligious matters, tho' idolaters; ſo ſuch 'proceedings may ſometimes prove in-'conſiſtent, with the very being of nations. 'For ſuppoſe any nation were wholly 'heatheniſh idolaters, and the word of 'God coming in amongſt them, ſhould 'convert the chief magiſtrate, and one 'twentieth part of the nation more; muſt 'he then, with that twentieth part, de-'ſtroy all the other nineteen, if they will 'not be converted, but continue in their 'heatheniſh idolatry? It cannot poſſibly 'be ſuppos'd to be warrantable. And 'this reaſon holds good, likewiſe, againſt 'the rooting up and deſtroying hereticks 'out of the world; becauſe if the church 'proceeds againſt any of her members to 'excommunication, the church's deport-'ment towards him ſo caſt out, is to be

'the ſame, as towards a *heathen*. So ſaith Chriſt himſelf; *If he neglect to hear* Matt. xviii. 17. *the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man, and a publican*; who, for the aforeſaid reaſon, is not to be deſtroy'd becauſe he is ſo. And moreover, ſeeing the Lord, who is abundantly merciful, many times gives repentance not only to the unbelieving idolater, but alſo to the excommunicated perſon; he therefore that deſtroys the body of ſuch a one, doth as much as in him lieth deſtroy his ſoul alſo. For the Lord, you ſee, brings into his vineyard *ſome at the third hour, ſome at the ſixth, ſome at the ninth, and others at the eleventh*. He, therefore, that ſhall deſtroy any at the third, or ſixth hour of the life, hinders his converſion, that poſſibly may be call'd at the ninth or eleventh hour; and ſo may be charg'd with bringing eternal loſs and damage to him whom he deſtroys.

'OBJECTION. But whereas the example of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, is made the greateſt pillar to ſupport the magiſtrates proceedings under the Goſpel, in perſecuting and puniſhing the contrary-minded in religious matters, or ſuch as ſhall be adjudg'd guilty of blaſphemy or idolatry; therefore the ſecond *canon* of the *Engliſh* Church tells us, *Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that the King's Majeſty hath not the ſame authority in*

cauſes

'causes ecclesiastical, that the godly Kings 'had amongst the Jews, shall be excom-'municated. But if magistrates would 'defer persecuting any man for religion, 'until the clergy had prov'd this unto 'them, it would be happy for the most 'conscientious under them, and them-'selves too.

'ANSWER. But in answer, we deny 'not, but the Kings of the *Jews* had 'power to punish idolaters, and blasphe-'mers, and some other trangressors of 'the then law of God: Which power was 'given them of God, and written in plain 'precepts, in the *Mosaical* law. But 'who tells them, that magistrates under 'the Gospel dispensation, hath such 'power? Hath the Lord *Jesus* said any 'such thing? Or if he have, where is it 'written? Nay, where is it written from 'the beginning of *Genesis*, to the end of 'the *Revelations*, that magistrates under 'the Gospel should have the same power 'in religious causes, as those under the 'law? If the judicial law be a rule for 'magistrates under the Gospel to walk 'by; then why must it be mangled in 'pieces, and just so much taken of it as 'suits their interest, and all the rest re-'jected? Is it left to magistrates now, or 'was it ever left to the *Jewish* Kings, to 'take what part of it they please to be a 'rule to them, and reject all the rest? And

'it is eminently remarkable, how this 'plea is by the Clergy themſelves, that 'moſt contend for it, made altogether 'invalid. For by it they will ſtir up 'the civil magiſtrate, to puniſh thoſe that 'diſſent from them about the doctrine 'and worſhip, under the notion of a blaſ-'phemer or heretick; and againſt ſuch 'this law muſt be held authentick: But 'he that *ſmiteth, or curſeth his father or 'mother*, or *ſtealeth a man*, or him that 'committeth *adultery*, or *breaketh the ſab-'bath*, who were all them ſure to be put 'to death, by the ſame judicial law; 'yet in theſe caſes they will not tell the 'magiſtrate it is any rule; but it is to 'be rejected, becauſe here they cannot 'much make it reach their ſuppos'd here-'ticks, who they are more jealous of, 'than any of the afore-mention'd offen-'ders.

'BUT beſides; it is obſervable, that 'the Kings of the *Jews*, all the time 'they kept to the Law of God, had ad-'vantages to give righteous judgment in 'ſpiritual cauſes, which magiſtrates un-'der the Goſpel have not. For they had 'that ſtanding oracle of God amongſt 'them, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, together 'with extraordinary prophets, which in 'all difficult caſes they had recourſe unto, 'and would infallibly direct them to 'judge according to the mind of God. 'But

'But when theſe Kings became wicked, 'and loſt the benefit of the aboveſaid ora-'cle, and extraordinary prophets; then, al-'though they had the written law a-'mongſt them, did they run headlong into 'ſuch groſs miſtakes, that the true pro-'phets of the Lord were ſure to be per-'ſecuted; and thoſe prophets which 'would propheſy ſmooth things unto 'them, were cheriſh'd, although many 'times, by heark'ning unto them, they 'loſt their kingdoms, lives, and it is to 'be fear'd, ſouls and all. How groſly 'did *Ahab* miſtake, when he accounted '*Elijah* the *troubler of Iſrael*; and caus'd 'poor *Micajah* to be impriſon'd, and *fed 'with bread and water of affliction*, be-'cauſe he would not help to deceive him, 'as his 400 * time-ſerving prophets had 'done? So *Jeremiah* was accus'd for 'ſeeking the hurt of his nation, and not 'the welfare, and muſt be put in a miry 'dungeon; becauſe he in plainneſs deli-'ver'd the mind of the Lord to the 'King, his princes and people. How, 'therefore, can the *Gentile* rulers aſſure 'themſelves they do any better than theſe 'rulers did, if they ſhall perſecute the 'contrary-minded in religious matters;

* 400 Falſe Prophets muſt eat bread at *Jezabel's* table, when *Micajah* muſt have bread and water of affliction, *Jer.* xxxviii. 4, 5, 6. as it hath been in our day.

'seeing they have neither an infallible oracle to enquire at, nor extraordinary prophet, nor yet such written precepts, as the *Jews* under the *Mosaical* law had; that did not only direct them what offenders should be punish'd, but also what the particular punishment to every several offence should be?

'FURTHERMORE, it is very plain, that the Gospel which we live under, is clear another dispensation, far different in all its ordinances and administrations from the law; under which the Lord *Jesus* is the only law-giver. Who doth not, as *Moses*, proceed against the transgressors of his precepts by external force and power, to the destroying them in their bodies and estates in this life; but in long-suffering waits on men, *not willing they should perish, but rather that they should repent and be saved.* And when any continues in disobedience to the Gospel, his punishment is eternal in the world to come. Therefore, as the Apostle *Paul* saith, *Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come; who will bring to light hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God.* The same Apostle testifieth of himself, *that he was a blasphemer and persecutor*; and if the mind of God had been, that he should have suffer'd death

1 Thess i. 9.
2 Pet. i. 9.
Acts xvii. 31.
1 Tim. i. 13.

'death in that condition, how ſhould he 'have had repentance given him, and 'been ſuch a glorious inſtrument in the 'church, as afterwards he was?

'AND it is too well known, that the '*Jews* are the great blaſphemers againſt 'our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, that are on earth. 'Yet it is not the mind of the Lord, 'they ſhould be deſtroy'd from the face 'of the earth. For how then ſhould 'the ſcripture be fulfilled, wherein God 'hath promis'd to call them, and make 'them the moſt glorious nation on the 'earth? Or how can they be converted, 'if they be not permitted, where the 'Goſpel is preach'd? We ſpeak not this 'in favour of any blaſphemy, for our 'ſouls abhor it; but becauſe all men that 'have power in their hands, might be as 'tender of the lives of men, as the moſt 'righteous and holy God is: Who would 'have men be imitators of himſelf, in 'mercy and goodneſs towards others; '*and maketh his ſun to riſe on the evil,* '*and on the good, and ſendeth rain on the* '*juſt and unjuſt.*

'IF it ſhall ſtill be objected, that it is 'inconſiſtent with the ſafety and well-'being of any nation, to allow or tole-'rate any more ways of worſhip than 'one: We anſwer, experience hath 'taught the contrary to ſeveral countries 'of *Europe*; as *France*, and the *United*

'*Provinces*, and ſeveral countries of *Ger-*
'*many*. Beſides, thoſe that ſay they are
'the ſervants of God, ſhould conclude
'that to be moſt for the ſafety and
'well-being of their countries, which is
'moſt agreeable to his heavenly will, de-
'clar'd in his word. It was the ruin of
'*Jeroboam*, and almoſt all the Kings of
'*Iſrael*, that ſucceeded him, that they
'would rather act by corrupt principles
'of ſtate policy, than by the word which
'God had ſpoken. And although God
'had rent ten tribes from *Rehoboam*, and
'given them to him, yet he wanted faith
'to believe his new kingdom could any
'ways be ſecur'd to him, or kept from
'going back to the lineage of *David*, un-
'leſs he deviſ'd ſome new way of wor-
'ſhip, to keep the people in their own
'land. And for his ſo doing, he thought
'he had much reaſon of ſtate: For what
'*Prince* now will conclude it good po-
'licy, to permit his people to go up
'yearly, into his enemies chief *city* to
'worſhip; but will conclude it to be a
'notable way to alienate the affections
'of his ſubjects from him, to his great
'prejudice and detriment? Thus *Jero-*
'*boam* reaſons, as by his words appear.
1 Kings xii. 26, 27, 28. 'Take them at length. *And* Jeroboam
'*ſaid in his heart, Now ſhall the kingdom*
'*return to the houſe of* David: *If this*
'*people go up to do ſacrifice in the houſe*
'*of*

'*of the Lord at* Jeruſalem, *then ſhall the*
'*heart of this people turn again unto their*
'*lord, even unto* Rehoboam *king of* Ju-
'dah; *and they ſhall kill me. Whereup-*
'*on the king took counſel, and made two*
'*calves of gold; and ſaid to them, it is too*
'*much for you to go up to* Jeruſalem; *be-*
'*hold thy Gods, O* Iſrael, *which brought thee*
'*out of the land of* Egypt. Which policy
'of his procur'd this event, which God
'denounc'd againſt him; ſaying, *I will* 1 Kings
'*bring evil upon the houſe of* Jeroboam, xiv. 10,
'*and will cut off from* Jeroboam *him that* 11.
'*piſſeth againſt the wall, and him that is*
'*ſhut up, and left in* Iſrael; *and will take*
'*away the remnant of the houſe of* Jero-
'boam, *as a man taketh away dung, till*
'*it be all gone.* And for the ſin where-
'in he made *Iſrael* to ſin, is he branded
'to all poſterity. But on the other hand,
'had he permitted the people to go up to
'*Jeruſalem* to worſhip, and kept the ap-
'pointments of God, tho' ſeemingly a-
'gainſt his preſent intereſt; then had the
'promiſe of God been made good unto
'him, which the prophet *Ahijah* declar'd
'long before he came to the kingdom;
'ſaying, *And it ſhall be, if thou wilt* Chap. xi.
'*hearken unto all that I command thee, and* 38.
'*wilt walk in my ways, and do that is*
'*right in my ſight, to keep my ſtatutes*
'*and commandments, as* David *my ſervant*
'*did; that I will be with thee, and build*

'*thee*

'*then a ſure houſe, as I built for* David, '*and will give* Iſrael *unto thee.* Which 'things were written for the example of 'ſuch, as ſhould come after. *Be wiſe now* Pſa. ii. 10, 11, 12. '*therefore, O ye kings; be inſtructed, ye* 'judges *of the earth. Serve the Lord* 'with *fear, and rejoice with trembling.* '*Kiſs the ſon, leſt he be angry, and ye pe-* '*riſh from the way, when his wrath is* '*kindled but a little; bleſſed are all they* '*that put their truſt in him.*

'WE ſhall take leave to mind and 'keep in memory the *liberty of tender* '*conſciences*, which the King's Majeſty 'declar'd from *Breda*; and ſhall yet live 'in hope and expectation to be partakers 'of the benefit thereof; being reaſona-'bly perſuaded, that the ſame principle 'that led his Majeſty to aſſert ſuch *Chri-*'*ſtian Liberty*, ſtill remains with him, to 'the allowing and protecting his peace-'able ſubjects, in their religious concern-'ments: Humbly praying, that God 'may order his heart, and the hearts of 'his great council, to proclaim *liberty* by 'a law, and *the opening of the priſon to* '*them that are bound.* That theſe de-'ſires may not ſeem novel, or ſuggeſted 'by us in the day of our diſtreſs, we 'have herewith inſerted the teſtimony of 'the ancients; which we have collected 'out of Dr. *Jer. Taylor*'s *liberty of pro-*'*pheſying*, which we pray may be impar-'tially conſider'd.

'IT

'IT is obſervable, that reſtraining of liberty, impoſing upon other mens underſtanding, being maſters of their conſciences, and lording it over their faith, came in with the retinue and train of Antichriſt: That is, they came as other abuſes and corruptions of the church did, by reaſon of the iniquity of the times, and the cooling of the firſt heats of chriſtianity, and the increaſe of intereſt, and the abatement of chriſtian ſimplicity; when the church's fortune grew better, and her ſons grew worſe, and ſome of her fathers worſt of all. For in the firſt 300 years, there was no ſign of perſecuting any man for his opinion, though at that time there were very horrid opinions commenc'd: For they then were aſſaulted by new ſects, which deſtroy'd the common principles of nature, of chriſtianity, of innocence, and publick ſociety. And they who us'd all the means, chriſtian and ſpiritual, for their diſprovement and conviction, thought not of uſing corporal force, otherwiſe than by blaming ſuch proceedings. To which I add; that all wiſe princes, till they were overborn with faction, or ſolicited by peeviſh perſons, gave *toleration to differing ſects*, &c. Epiſt. p. 18.

'AND the experience which *Chriſtendom* hath had in this laſt age, is argument

'gument enough, that *toleration of dif-*
fering opinions is ſo far from diſturbing
'the publick peace, or deſtroying the in-
'tereſt of princes and commonwealths,
'that it does advantage to the publick. It
'ſecures peace, becauſe there is not ſo
'much as the pretence of religion left to
'perſons to contend for it, being alrea-
'dy indulg'd to them.

'WHEN the *French* fought againſt
'the *Hugonots*, the ſpilling of her own
'blood was argument enough, of the im-
'prudence of that way of promoting re-
'ligion. But ſince ſhe hath given per-
'miſſion to them, the world is witneſs,
'how proſperous ſhe hath been ever
'ſince. Indeed, there is great reaſon for
'princes to give *toleration to diſagreeing*
'*perſons*, whoſe opinions by fair means
'cannot be alter'd. For if the perſons
'be confident, they will ſerve God ac-
'cording to their perſuaſions: And if
'they be publickly prohibited, they will
'privately convene.

'AND it is alſo a part of Chriſtian
'Religion, that the liberty of mens con-
'ſciences ſhould be preſerv'd in all things,
'where God hath not made a limit, or
'ſet a reſtraint; that the ſoul of man
'ſhould be free, and acknowledge no
'maſter but *Jeſus Chriſt*; that matters
'ſpiritual ſhould not be reſtrain'd by pu-
'niſhments corporal; and that the ſame

'meekneſs

'meekneſs and charity ſhould be preſerv'd 'in the promotion of chriſtianity, that 'gave it foundation, and increment, and 'firmneſs in the firſt publication; that 'concluſions ſhould not be more dogma-'tical than the virtual reſolution and effi-'cacy of the premiſe; and that the per-'ſons ſhould not more certainly be con-'demn'd, than their opinions confuted; 'and laſtly, that the infirmity of man 'and difficulty of things ſhould be both 'put in ballance, to make abatement in 'the definitive ſentences againſt mens 'perſons.

'AND therefore the beſt of men, and 'moſt glorious of princes, were always 'ready to give *toleration*, but never to make 'executions for matters diſputable: As '*Euſebius*, in his ſecond book of the life 'of *Conſtantine*, reports.

'ALSO King *James*, writing to the 'ſtate of the *United Provinces*, dated the '6th of *March* 1613, among other 'things, ſaith; that you charge them to 'maintain peace, by bearing one with 'another, in ſuch differences of opinions 'and judgments. The like counſel in 'the diviſions of *Germany*, at the firſt 'reformation, was thought reaſonable by 'the Emperor *Ferdinando*, and his ex-'cellent ſon *Maximilian*. For they had 'obſerv'd that violence did exaſperate, 'was unbleſſed, unſucceſsful, and unrea-

'ſonable;

'sonable; and therefore they made de-
'crees of *toleration*, and appointed tem-
'pers and expedients to be drawn up by
'discreet persons. And *Emanuel Philibert*,
'Duke of *Savoy*, repenting of his war
'undertaken for religion against the *Pe-*
'*demontani*, promised them *toleration*,
'and was as good as his word. As much
'is done by the nobility of *Polonia*. So
'that the best princes and best bishops
'gave *toleration* and impunities. Also in
'*Rome* itself, till the time of *Justinian*
A.D. 525. 'the Emperor, the *Catholicks* and *Nova-*
'*tians* had churches indifferently permit-
'ted: And the *Popes* were the first
'preachers of force and violence in mat-
'ters of religion; and yet it came not so
'far as death. But the first that preach'd
'that doctrine was *Dominick*, the founder
'of the begging order of *Fryers*; the
'*Fryers's* preachers; in memory of which
'the inquisition is intrusted only to the
'*Fryers* of his order.

'IN *England*, altho' the *Pope* had as
'great power here as any where, yet
'there were no executions for matter of
'opinion, until *Henry* IV. who, because
'he usurp'd the crown, was willing by
'all means to endear the clergy, by de-
'stroying their enemies, that so he might
'be sure of them to all his purposes.
'And, indeed, it may become them well
'enough, *who are wiser in their genera-*

'*tion*

'*tion than the children of light*; it may 'possibly serve the policies of evil per-'sons, but never the pure and chaste de-'signs of christianity.

'BY this time I hope it will not be 'thought reasonable to say; he that teach-'eth mercy to erring persons, teaches in-'differency in religion; unless so many 'fathers, and so many churches, and the 'best of Emperors, and all the world, 'till they were abused by tyranny, po-'pery, and faction, did teach indifferen-'cy. For I have shew'd, that christiani-'ty does not punish corporally, persons 'erring spiritually; but, indeed, *popery* 'does; and hath done ever since they 'were taught it by their St. *Dominick*.

'AND yet after all this, I have some-'thing to exempt myself from the cla-'mour of this objection. For let all er-'rors be as much and as zealously sup-'press'd as may be; but let it be done 'by such means, as are proper instru-'ments of their suppression, by preach-'ing and disputation (so that neither of 'them breed disturbance) by charity and 'sweetness, by holiness of life, and as-'siduity of exhortation, by the word of 'God and prayer; For these ways are 'most natural, most prudent, most peace-'able and effectual. Only let not men 'be hasty in calling every dislik'd opi-'nion by the name of heresy; and when

'they

'they have reſolv'd that they will call it 'it ſo, let them uſe the erring perſon '*like a brother*; not beat him like a dog, 'or convince him with a gibbet, or vex 'him out of his underſtanding and per-'ſuaſion.

'WHY are we ſo zealous againſt thoſe 'we call *Hereticks*, and yet great friends 'with drunkards, and fornicators, and 'ſwearers, and intemperate and idle per-'ſons? I am certain that a drunkard is as 'contrary to God, and lives as contrary to 'the laws of chriſtianity, as a *Heretick*: 'And I am alſo ſure, that I know what 'drunkenneſs is; but I am not ſure, that 'ſuch an opinion is hereſy, *&c.* Thus 'far Dr. *Taylor*, now Biſhop of *Down*.

'NOW whereas we have given pub-'lickly an account of the former ages, in 'their carriages and behaviours towards 'perſons differing in judgment in religi-'ous things; we take the leave humbly 'to deſire, and beg the ſame privilege, 'as was granted unto the *Waterdopers*, 'by the Prince and State of the *Nether-'lands*: Which was to admit a publick 'diſpute, between the miniſters and the 'perſons aforeſaid, in the preſence of the 'Prince, which we humbly conceive is 'but a reaſonable requeſt.'

IN this year was publiſh'd a ſmall piece, written by Dr. *John Griffith*, a *Baptiſt* mini-

miniſter, who afterwards ſuffer'd a long impriſonment in *Newgate* for the cauſe of Chriſt; entitled, *A complaint of the oppreſs'd againſt oppreſſors: or, The unjuſt and arbitrary proceedings of ſome Soldiers and Juſtices, againſt ſome ſober godly perſons in and near* London, *who now lie in ſtinking goals for the teſtimony of a good conſcience; with ſome reaſons why they connot ſwear allegiance to obtain their liberty.* It is introduc'd thus:

John Griffith's *complaint of the oppreſs'd againſt oppreſſors.*

'THE unjuſt proceedings of ſome 'in preſent power, againſt many 'in this nation fearing God, cannot but 'be manifeſt to ſuch ſober men, that 'do or will take a view of the ſame. I 'having knowledge of the ſufferings of 'many godly perſons, eſpecially in and 'about *London*, whom their very adver-'ſaries cannot blemiſh juſtly with the 'leaſt ſpot of infamy, dare not but 'let the world know the innocency of 'the men, and the tyranny of their op-'preſſors. And in what I ſhall ſay, I 'dare appeal to the conſciences of all ſo-'ber and judicious perſons, of what per-'ſuaſion ſoever, except the proud *prelate*; 'whether it be not *tyranny* to the height, 'for men to be ſeiz'd and taken out of 'their beds, at midnight by ſoldiers, in 'a hoſtile manner, with their ſwords 'drawn; by means of which their wives

'wives and children have been much affrighted to their great detriment in point 'of health; and this done in a time of 'peace, and without warrant from any, 'no not ſo much as a warrant from a Ju'ſtice of Peace. Others taken from their 'peaceable meetings, when they have 'been in the Lord's ſervice in a publick 'manner, the doors being open for all 'that would come in to ſee what they 'did, and hear what they ſaid. Others at'tack'd as they have paſs'd along the ſtreets, 'about their lawful employments. And 'all this done by ſoldiers, without war'rant from any, and by them carried be'fore ſome men call'd *Juſtices*, but ſuch 'only in name and title, nothing ſo in 'truth.'

John Sturgion's *plea for toleration.*

IN this year alſo, Mr. *John Sturgion*, a *Baptiſt*, wrote a Tract, which he entitled, *A plea for toleration of opinions and perſuaſions in matters of religion differing from the Church of* England: *Humbly preſented to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.* Which he introduces in this manner:

'*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

'I HAVE had ſtrong impulſes upon 'my mind, for ſome days, to preſent 'this paper to your Majeſty. And I 'humbly hope it will not be made to

'ſuffer

'ſuffer much under an evil reſentment, upon its preſentation to your hand, becauſe it bears a teſtimony of the *Author*'s good affection to your royal ſelf. For my witneſs is on high; that I did not write this paper becauſe I love you not, becauſe I honour you not, becauſe I own you not, in your royal capacity of magiſtracy and civil power. God knoweth, that you have not any ſubject more chriſtianly real or cordial unto you. I humbly beg, that your Majeſty would be pleas'd ſo far to deny yourſelf, as to read it with patience, and to judge of it as you ſhall ſee cauſe.'

AFTER ſome reaſonings with his Majeſty, reſpecting the prohibition of all *meetings* whatſoever, he thus expreſſeth himſelf:

'AND may it further pleaſe your Ma- P. 7.
'jeſty, to conſider your afflicted and innocent ſubjects, how they have been hall'd from their peaceable habitations, and thruſt into *priſons*, almoſt in all *counties* in *England*; and many are ſtill detain'd, to the utter undoing of themſelves and families: And moſt of them are poor men, whoſe livelihood, under God, depends upon the labour of their own hands. So that they lie under more than an ordinary calamity; there

'being ſo many thruſt into little rooms 'together, that they are an annoyance each 'to other; eſpecially in the *City* of *Lon-* 'don, where the *Lord-Mayor* crouds 'them very cloſe together; that it hath 'been obſerv'd, the keepers have com- 'plain'd they have had too many gueſts; 'and whilſt they ſuffer there, ſome of 'their wives and tender babes want bread 'at home.'

THEN he lays before his Majeſty ſix reaſons againſt reſtraining, or uſing force in matters of religion: And ſays,

P. 17. 'Now if your Majeſty will but con- 'ſider, what it is which the *baptized peo-* '*ple*, and divers others, have made ſuch 'earneſt ſuit to your Majeſty for: It is 'not for *titles of honour*, nor for *places* '*of great profit*, either in a *civil* or *eccle-* '*ſiaſtical capacity*: But only this is their 'requeſt and humble deſire, that we may 'ſerve the Lord without moleſtation, in 'that faith and order, which we have 'learn'd in the Holy Scripture; giving 'honour to our King, to whom honour 'belongs, fear to whom fear, tribute to 'whom tribute belong; in every thing, 'as far as we have abilities, to render to

Rom. xiii. 7. 'God the things that are God's, and to 'the magiſtrate the things that are 'his.'

A SUDDEN ſtorm ariſing now, from I know not what ſurmiſe of a plot, and thereby danger ariſing to the government; the meetings of the Diſſenters were broken up throughout the city, and ſuch as were there found, were put into priſon. Among whom Dr. *John Griffith*, author of the afore-mention'd complaint of the oppreſs'd, was apprehended and committed to *Newgate*, where he lay ſeventeen months for no other crime but preaching to a congregation of *Proteſtants*. Ellwood's *life*.

THIS ſtorm was not confin'd to the city, but alſo reach'd the country. For the worthy Mr. *Thomas Grantham*, and ſome others, were taken from their meeting at *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, by ſome ſoldiers, who lodg'd them all night in a publick inn: Where they continu'd ſwearing and curſing inceſſantly, to the no ſmall grief of Mr. *Grantham* and his companions, he and two more only being detain'd, and the reſt being diſmiſs'd. In the morning he with his companions were convey'd to the common goal at *Lincoln*, and there confin'd; where they met with one Mr. *Cox*, who had been committed there before them. In this place were they detain'd till the aſſizes, without ſo much as the leaſt pretence of any crime laid to their charge. It was rumour'd about by ſome, that Mr. *Grantham* was a *Papiſt*;

piſt; and ſeveral of the clergy, who came to ſee him during his confinement, affirm'd to his face that he was a *Jeſuit*. In order to remove this ſlander, he publiſh'd a controverſy he had with a *Roman Catholick*, and entitled it, *The Baptiſt againſt the Papiſt*. By which prudent conduct he happily put an end to that ſcandalous report; tho' it was the ordinary aſperſion caſt on thoſe of the *Baptiſt perſuaſion*, and then deſign'd not ſo much to bring reproach on their perſons as their profeſſion. However at the aſſizes no one appearing, and no crime being alledg'd againſt them, they were diſmiſs'd: And they return'd to the churches to which they belong'd, who expreſs'd no little joy for their deliverance, after fifteen months impriſonment. During this confinement, Mr. *Grantham* wrote his book, entitled, *The priſoner againſt the prelate: or, a dialogue between the common Goal of* Lincoln, *and the Cathedral*. From ſeveral paſſages, in which it appears, that the ſufferings of the *Baptiſts* were numerous, the perſecutions againſt them, were carried on with great vehemence by the clergy, who thought it not ſufficient to impriſon their perſons, and take away their liberty, unleſs they could alſo take away their good names. They therefore ſpread ſeveral ſcandalous reports about them, as if the perſons

they

they injur'd were *Papiſts*, *Jeſuits*, and immoral perſons. However their demeanour was ſo peaceable, and their behaviour in priſon ſo edifying, they being very much employ'd in praying to, and praiſing God; and in holy converſation with one another, or private meditations; that they gain'd the reputation of being godly men, who ſuffer'd for conſcience ſake: while the clergy were look'd on as perſecutors of thoſe, who were better than themſelves; and as having an eye in what they did more to their own intereſt than the honour of Chriſt.

THE Mayor of *Dover*, Mr. *John Home*, and the Juſtices there, began very early to ſhew themſelves, and their zeal againſt their diſſenting neighbours, more particularly the *Baptiſts*. Upon which, one who ſtil'd himſelf *a poor ſubject*, wrote the following letter to them.

'*To the honour'd the Mayor, and Juſtices*
'*of this town.*

'WE deſire to let you know, yet
'once more, that we do acknow-
'ledge your power, and do deſire to
'ſubmit unto it, ſo far as we are engag'd
'by the rule of truth. But we do hum-
'bly conceive, that your power doth not

Manuſcipt penes me.

'reach ſo far as to tie our conſciences, to 'worſhip our God according to your man-'ner. We muſt not ſee with your eyes, 'but we muſt worſhip God according to 'that light, that he hath been pleas'd to 'give unto us from the ſcriptures of truth. 'But haply you may ſay, that you have 'the ſcriptures as well as we, and more 'learning than we have to underſtand 'them. And ſo far we may agree, that 'you have the ſcriptures, and more human 'learning than we: But we muſt intreat 'you to excuſe us in this, that we dare 'not worſhip the true God in a falſe 'manner, according to the traditions of 'men, according to the revolutions of 'ages; as we humbly conceive you do, 'with the reſt of the nations, tho' not 'in ſuch a groſs manner of idolatry as 'ſome other nations do. But we do not 'know how ſoon you may be as vile as 'the worſt of them. We have great cauſe 'to fear ſuch a thing, becauſe in one 'thing you are more vile already; in 'that there is liberty given by ſome o-'ther nations, and alſo in this nation, 'more than in this place. We intreat 'you in the bowels of love to conſider 'of it. We know you have knowledge, 'but we intreat you to take heed you be 'not puff'd up in your knowledge; 'which if you be, it will cauſe you to

'be

'be ſo blind, that you will act quite 'contrary to truth, and to your own 'knowledge. We hope you will not be 'offended, becauſe you know it is the 'exhortation of the Apoſtle *Paul*, and 'it is his teſtimony, that *knowledge* will '*puff up*, if there be not good care taken. 'So we ſhall leave at preſent, theſe 'things to your judgment and conſidera-'tion.

'If any friend, ſays he, ſeem to be offend-'ed with my beginning, and judge me to 'offend in giving ſuch titles unto men, 'judging it to be flattering titles; I de-'ſire to be excus'd, inaſmuch as I have 'no intent to flatter. But as at preſent, I 'judge it my duty to give that honour 'unto men in their places, as they are 'ſet; ſo I judge not without the provi-'dence of God, or at leaſt, God doth 'ſuffer it ſo to be, that they have the 'power; and I am bound to honour 'them, however they may be perſuaded 'to perſecute me, and think it their duty 'ſo to do, and judge me to be an here-'tick. But that I muſt leave to God, 'that will judge all in righteouſneſs, with-'out reſpect of perſons, powers and ſub-'jects, rich and poor; there will be no 'reſpect with God in judgment. There-'fore whatſoever the judgment of ſome 'may be, as touching the civil honour 'and titles belonging to men in power;

'I

'I deſire to be excus'd, in giving to man, 'that belongs to him in his place, altho' 'I may ſuffer never ſo much evil at 'their hands.

'By me *James Atkins*, in the 'behalf of us all, that are like 'to be prohibited of our liber-'ties, by the envy of ſome in-'ſtruments, that are ſoliciting 'the magiſtrate to that pur-'poſe.'

THE magiſtrates of *Dover* were very ſevere upon theſe people. They took them from their meeting-houſe in the year 1660, and committed them to priſon. After keeping them there four and twenty days, they were admitted to bail, paying their charges; and appearing at the next *ſeſſions*, were forbid to meet any more at their meeting-houſe, and allow'd to meet together in one of the churches. The which they did every Lord's-day for about the ſpace of five months, meeting together about eleven in the morning, and continuing till about three in the afternoon. This priviledge being denied them by the ſucceeding *Mayor*, they aſſembled again at their own meeting-place. The *Mayor* diſturb'd them, took their names, and warn'd them to appear at the *hall*. They appear'd, and four of them, *viz.*

Thomas

Thomas Williams, *Chriſtopher Streetind*, *John Hales* and *James Houſon*, were committed to priſon. The next Lord's-day the *Mayor* diſturb'd them again, took their names, and ſent ſix who were country-men to priſon; *viz. Thomas Partridge*, *John Finis*, *Edmund Finis*, *Simon Loveleſs*, *John Barrows*, and *John Hobbs*: And the next Lord's-day after ſent four more. The *Mayor* diſturb'd them a fourth time, and then committed them all, being ten in number. At the *Quarter-ſeſſions*, a bill of indictment was found againſt them, ſome travers'd it, others ſubmitted to the court, and the reſt were remitted to priſon again.

THESE hardſhips under which they groan'd, at length ſtirr'd them up to ſeek for mercy from the higher powers: And thereupon they drew up a petition to the King, and ſoon after another to the Duke of *York*. I have plac'd them together; and they are in their own words, as followeth:

'*To the ſupreme magiſtrate of theſe Nations*, Charles II. *King of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereto belonging, together with his honourable Privy-Council.*

'THE humble petition of many of thoſe poor ſuffering diſtreſs'd people, falſely call'd *Anabaptiſts*, in the behalf *Manuſcript penes me.*

'behalf of themſelves and many others, 'differing from thoſe called *Church of* 'England, in matter of faith, and alſo 'form of worſhip; who, notwithſtanding, 'do walk in all good conſcience to-'wards God, and in ſincerity of heart, 'do alſo acknowledge the King to be 'chief in all temporal things, and there-'fore do and ſhall yield, in all temporal 'things, due obedience unto him, *not only* '*for wrath but for conſcience ſake*; and ſo 'in all things ſhall give untothe King that 'which is his, and unto God that which 'only belongs unto himſelf.

'Now therefore, may it pleaſe your 'Highneſs to lay to heart what hath 'been formerly in humility preſented 'unto you, by way of petition and ad-'vice relating to liberty of conſcience, 'the innocent deſires of your peaceable 'ſubjects; and let our lives, and the lives 'of our wives and children be precious 'in your eyes, for we are free-born '*Engliſhmen*, and one fleſh as the fleſh 'of others. O be pleaſed to conſider, 'that thoſe that have had the greateſt 'means of light, and have been as zea-'lous as any, yet they have pluckt up 'the wheat inſtead of tares, and have kil-'led the moſt precious children of God 'inſtead of the children of the wicked 'one. O let our words be acceptable 'unto you, *for the wiſdom that comes*

'*from*

'*from above is firſt pure*, and teacheth all 'men to do as they would be done 'unto; *it is peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to 'be intreated, full of mercy*; yea, the 'great things of God's law, *are judgment, 'mercy and faith*. Moreover, the Goſpel 'is *the Goſpel of peace*; and ſo the Apo-'ſtles made it their work, not to force, 'but to perſuade men. And as our *Savi-'our* ſaith, that five ſhould be in one houſe, 'three againſt two, and two againſt three, 'and ſo commonly the poor ſheep and 'lambs of Chriſt have much tribula-'tion, but in him having peace they 'bear it patiently. O be pleaſed there-'fore to conſider, how diſagreeable it 'is with chriſtianity, to bring tribula-'tion upon any for conſcience ſake, ſee-'ing all things in worſhip muſt be done 'in faith and love. But nevertheleſs, 'your peaceable ſubjects are liable to 'the penalty of ſuch laws and ſtatutes, 'as enjoin ſuch ſervice and conformity, 'as in conſcience to God we cannot do 'in faith and love; the penalty of which 'ſtatutes are ſuch, as in a little time, 'if proſecuted, will work out ruin to 'ourſelves and families.

'NOW here, we humbly beſeech 'your Highneſs, to take into ſerious 'conſideration the deplorable condition of 'your peaceable Subjects, and to grant unto 'us what you were pleaſed to promiſe,

'upon

'upon the word of a King, at *Breda*, 'and alſo ſince your arrival; not only 'by your declaration for eccleſiaſtical 'affairs, but alſo at ſeveral other times 'to ſeveral of us, when we made our 'addreſſes unto you; and therefore we 'do crave theſe things with the more 'boldneſs and confidence, foraſmuch as 'innocency is found in us, and againſt 'the King and his Government we 'have done no harm, whatever may be 'reported to the contrary, to our re-'proach. Theſe premiſes conſidered, 'we pray, we may not be interrupted 'in our worſhipping the God of Hea-'ven, as we are taught in his holy 'word, which indeed we do prize 'above all the world. The which, if 'we ſhall enjoy, will greatly encourage 'us to pray and praiſe the Lord on 'your behalf, which *rules the hearts 'of Kings, as the rivers of water.*

'BUT if notwithſtanding what hath 'been and is deſired, we ſhall be denied, 'that which we humbly conceive, the 'law of God and Nature doth allow 'us; yet we ſhall, in the ſtrength of 'the Lord, patiently ſuffer what ſhall 'be inflicted upon us. *For the weapons 'of our warfare are not carnal, but ſpi-'ritual and mighty, to the pulling down of 'ſtrong-holds.*

To

To his Highneſs the Duke of York.

'FORASMUCH as the all-diſpoſing 'hand of God's providence hath 'brought your Highneſs into this place; 'we hope it is, that by you, as a fit 'inſtrument to ſo good a work, to de-'liver us, his harmleſs people, and 'peaceable ſubjects to the King. And 'inaſmuch as what is done unto us, is 'done in your name; we humbly lay 'before you, that many of us inhabi-'tants of this town, [*Dover*] for the ſpace 'of ſix weeks, have been impriſoned, for 'no other cauſe, but for our peaceable 'meeting to worſhip our God, and 'thereby are brought into great ſtraits; 'ſome of our families, being numerous, 'whoſe daily ſupply dependeth on our 'daily labour; ſo that our wants and 'ſtraits are like to be very great, by 'reaſon of our preſent ſufferings. And 'foraſmuch as the like is not done to 'our friends in other places, but the 'King is pleaſed to protect them as 'his peaceable ſubjects, we think it 'hard meaſure to be thus dealt withal, 'our offence being no more criminal 'than theirs.

'THE premiſes conſidered, we hum-'bly intreat your Highneſs to ſhew mer-'cy to us, your peaceable yet oppreſſed 'ſubjects, in ſetting us at liberty, that

'the

'the cries of our little ones and families, by reaſon of our ſufferings, do 'not provoke the great God of mercy 'and truth againſt this land of our nativity. And if you pleaſe to anſwer 'our deſires, we are ſure God will reward you an hundred fold; ſince he 'hath promiſed, that he that giveth 'but a cup of cold water to any of his 'ſuffering people, ſhall not loſe his 'reward; and you will engage us ſo 'much the more, both to ſpeak well 'of, and pray for you. In this reſolution we ſubſcribe ourſelves, in the 'innocency of our ſouls, in the ſight 'of God,

James Houſon *John Finis*
Simon Loveleſs *Tho. Partridge*
John Hales *Tho. Williams.*

From the Priſon in Dover, *the 17th day of the 9th month*, 1661.

The perſecution of the Baptiſts about London.

IN the year 1662, was publiſhed a ſmall pamphlet, intitled, *Behold a Cry*; or, *a true relation of the inhuman and violent outrages of divers Soldiers, Conſtables and others, practiſed upon many of the Lord's people, commonly, tho' falſely called* Anabaptiſts, *at their ſeveral meetings in and about* London, and is thus introduced:

THE

'THE ſundry and divers abuſes 'that hath been offered time after 'time to the free-born people of *Eng-* 'land, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the 'Petition of right and all the known 'laws of the land, the declaration and 'proclamation of the King that now 'is, we cannot ſuppoſe the nation whol- 'ly ignorant of. But how inhumanly 'they have been uſed, and with what 'violence ſoldiers and others have pro- 'ceeded in ſeveral places where they 'have, in the fear of the Lord, been 'aſſembled: Their uſual manner being 'to come with ſoldiers, which com- 'monly were moſt of them rude youths 'or mercenary men, of the ruder and 'viler ſort; and they with their muſ- 'kets, and ſome with their ſwords 'drawn, to the affrighting of women 'and children, breaking and ſpoiling 'their goods, doing violence to their 'perſons, by pulling, halling, and beat- 'ing ſome of them, the which they 'may not underſtand. Now that all, 'both *Magiſtrates* and People, may be 'rightly informed, the mouth of falſe- 'hood and ſcandal ſtopped, and ſuch 'abuſes redreſſed; we ſhall, in particu- 'lar, give a brief hint of ſome of them 'as followeth:

'IN *June* 1661, there came divers 'rude ſoldiers, wicked, ſwearing, and

Brick-lane *Meeting-houſe diſturb'd and more than 20 ſeiz'd.*

'debauched perſons, to the meeting-
'houſe in *Brick-lane* near *White-Chapel*,
'and laid hands on ſeveral men, to the
'number of more than *twenty*; who,
'in a peaceable manner, demanded of
'them their warrant for ſo doing, but
'they would not ſhew them any, which
Wm. Caſwell *ſorely abuſed.*
'one *William Caſwell* ſeeing, he ſaid to
'this purpoſe, that if they had a warrant
'he would obey it; but if they had
'none they ſhould carry him for he
'would not go: With that they beat
'him with their hangers about the head,
'and pulled him along by force; and
'ſometimes taking him up between
'three or four of them, and then let-
'ting him fall with violence into the
'dirt; pulling by great force his ſto-
'mach and breaſt againſt the rails; inſo-
'much that with blows and falls he is
'deprived of health to this day. And
'when there were ſeveral of the actors
'of this tragedy arreſted, *and ſute be-
'ing, according to law, commenced a-
'gainſt them, and the perſons abuſed
'intending to go on, they were ſudden-
'ly ſurprized and prevented by *John
'Robinſon*, who granted a warrant to
'ſeize

* The King in his proclamation, *Jan.* 10, 1660, declared that if any ſhould be ſo hardy as to ſeize the perſons of any without warrant, &c. that then they ſhould be left open to the law to be proceeded againſt, and receive according to their demerit.

'ſeize the body of *Thomas Hull* and 'the aboveſaid *William Caſwel*. The 'ſaid *Thomas Hull* being taken in the 'ſtreet, by virtue of the aforeſaid war- 'rant, and carried before *John Robin- 'ſon*, who in a fury demanded how he 'durſt arreſt his ſoldiers, and would 'not take bail, but ſent him to *New- 'gate*, and one with him, who only 'came along with his friend, the ſaid '*Thomas Hull*, and deſired to bail him; 'where they both lay about ten or twelve 'days before they could be bailed, and 'were held bound from ſeſſions to ſeſ- 'ſions, for a long time after, before they 'could be diſcharged. So little was the 'King's proclamation regarded by *John 'Robinſon*.

Tho. Hull and his friends who came to bail him, both impriſoned by John Robinſon, *a great proſecutor.*

'Secondly, ON the 20th of *October* '1661, there came a parcel of the afore- 'ſaid rude ſoldiers to the meeting at '*Brick-lane*, and took away one that 'was then preaching. Some there de- 'ſired them to ſhew their warrant for 'their ſo doing: One lieutenant *Wilton* 'ſhewed his commiſſion as he was an 'officer; which being read, he ſaid, 'that was ſufficient. One anſwering, 'ſaid, that was not ſufficient, he ought 'to have a particular warrant, with the 'name of the perſon ſeiz'd expreſſed in 'it, and under the hand and ſeal of 'ſome one juſtice or more. One en-

'ſign *Spike* anſwered, if that were not 'ſufficient, it was ſufficient, Sir *John* 'Robinſon, as he called him, bid them 'by word of mouth to do what they 'did. To which was anſwered, that 'a verbal order from him, or any other 'juſtice elſe, was not according to law 'in ſuch a caſe, neither did the law in-'title them to be executioners of it; 'but if they had a warrant, as they 'had none, it ought to be directed to 'ſome peace officer, and not to them. *A* Baptiſt *Miniſter ſeiz'd without warrant, and ſent to* Newgate. 'Yet notwithſtanding they carried him 'away to the *Tower*, before *John Robin-ſon*, who ſent him to *Newgate*, pre-'tending and inſerting great matters in 'his *mittimus*; where he lay *thirty weeks*, 'without any thing laid to his charge, 'and then they releaſed him.

'Thirdly, ON the 3d day of *Novem.* '1661, they came again in the like 'manner to the aforeſaid place, in as rude 'a manner as before, and with as little 'a ſhew or face of law: They ſeized 'him that was preaching, as one was 'at that time; and when they had ta-'ken him down, they took away three 'more; two of which were ſitting at 'the table. Whom they carried before *Another Miniſter and three more ſent to* New-Priſon. '*John Robinſon*, who committed them 'all to *New-Priſon*; inſerting in their '*Mittimus*, things of an high nature; 'as their ſpeaking of treaſonable words,

'and

'and the like. When ſome queſtioned 'the legality of their ſeizure, he, *John Robinſon*, reply'd, with ſome indigna-'tion, that he ſent them to do what 'they did; as if his verbal command 'were ſufficient to juſtify their illegal 'proceedings. And at *Seſſions* following, 'there was one of them remov'd in time 'of *Seſſions*, only by *John Robinſon*'s 'warrant from *New-Priſon* to *Newgate*; 'in order, as he ſaid, to his trial, which 'he could never attain to have, nor 'any thing laid to his charge, tho' he 'often called for it in the face of the '*Court*, but had no notice taken of him, 'nor never returned in the calendar; 'yet was he kept in *Newgate twelve weeks* 'unjuſtly, 'till he was fetched out by a 'perſon in authority. He ſuffered in all 'near *eighteen weeks* impriſonment; and the 'reſt of his fellows ſuffered *twenty-eight* '*weeks* impriſonment, and then were re-'leaſed, nothing being laid to their charge.'

J. James's *meeting diſturbed.*

IT was about this time, that a congregation of *Baptiſts* holding the *ſeventh-day* as a *ſabbath*, being aſſembled at their meeting-houſe in *Bulſtake Alley*, the doors being open, about three of the clock in the afternoon, whilſt Mr. *John James* was preaching, one Juſtice *Chard*, with Mr. *Wood*, an *Headborough*, came into the meeting-place. *Wood* commanded him in the King's name to be ſilent, and come

down, having ſpoken treaſon againſt the King: But Mr. *James* taking little or no notice thereof, proceeded in his work. The *Headborough* came nearer to him in the middle of the meeting-place, and commanded him again in the King's name to come down, or elſe he would pull him down; whereupon the diſturbance grew ſo great, he could not proceed, but told the *Headborough* he would not come down, except he was pulled down: Whereupon he pulled him down, and halled him away, being charged with treaſonable words uttered in his ſermon, by one *Tipler*, a pipe-maker's journey-man. Who being a ſcandalous idle-fellow, the Juſtice took not much notice of what he ſaid; but bringing a neighbour with him, he was provok'd by him to regard his teſtimony.

His hearers ſent to priſon.

John Robinſon with three more Juſtices of the Peace, ſitting at the *Half-moon* tavern, both *men* and *women* who were at the meeting, were brought before them by *ſevens*. To whom they tender'd the oath of allegiance, and committed thoſe that refus'd, ſome to *Newgate*, both *men* and *women* being guarded thither by the *Hamlets*.

Narrative p. 8

'AFTERWARDS the ſame *Juſtices*, 'entring the meeting-place, ſat down a-'bout the table with their clerk; and 'Major *Stanley* ſtanding by, did ſend for

'*John*

'*John James.* And in the mean time 'the Lieutenant of the Tower read a pa-'per which he pull'd out of his pocket; 'ſaying, he would read to them what 'doctrine was preach'd there that day; 'being of the nature of a charge, which 'they drew up from *Tipler*'s mouth a-'gainſt *John James*; demanding of cer-'tain *women*, relating to the meeting, 'yet detain'd, and whoſe names they 'were then taking, how they could hear 'ſuch things as thoſe? To which they 'unanimouſly reply'd in the fear of the 'Lord, *That they never heard ſuch words, 'as they ſhall anſwer it before the Lord, 'and they durſt not lie.*

Himſelf examined.

John James being brought before them into the meeting-place, *John Robinſon* examin'd him. Among other queſtions put to him, were theſe following, *viz.*

'WHETHER he had not been before 'him before this? Who anſwer'd, he had: 'And whether he had not been civilly 'us'd? He reply'd, yea; and for his ci-'vility he thank'd him. Then the *Lieu-'tenant* aſk'd him, if he was not coun-'ſell'd for to take heed for the future? 'He anſwer'd, yea; and he had taken it 'ſo far as he could with a good conſci-'ence. Upon which the *Lieutenant* told 'him, he ſhould *ſtretch* for it; and if he 'were not *hang'd*, he would be *hang'd* for him. *John James* told him, he was

'not careful in that matter; and that they 'could do no more, then they ſhould be 'ſuffer'd by the Lord to do. The *Lieu-* 'tenant told him, he thought he was not 'careful; for he had a mind to be *hang'd*, 'as ſome of his *holy brethren* that went 'before him? *John James* deſir'd he 'would not ſpeak ſo lightly. The *Lieu-* 'tenant ſpake ſomething to him about 'the *fifth kingdom*; and aſk'd him, whe- 'ther that was his principle? Who told 'him, he did own the *fifth-kingdom*, 'which was to come. Whereupon they 'laugh'd one upon another, and ſaid, now 'they had it from his own mouth. Some- 'thing alſo was charg'd upon him about his 'learning to ſound a trumpet, in order 'to a riſing with *Venner*'s party. To 'which he ſaid, there was a friend of 'his who lay in his houſe, minding to 'go to ſea, being to learn to ſound, de- 'ſir'd he might have liberty to be 'taught in his houſe; but he never 'learn'd himſelf, neither was he one of 'thoſe in that *riſing*, judging it to be a '*raſh act*.

'THEN the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, 'call'd in Captain *Hodgſkin*, who com- 'manded the party of ſoldiers that ſtood 'at the door: And ſaid, take this *man*, 'be careful of him, and commit him 'cloſe priſoner to *Newgate*. So they 'carried him away with his *Mittimus*, 'hereafter expreſs'd.

'*To*

'*To the keeper of the goal of* Newgate, '*or his deputy*; Middleſex.

'THESE are in the King's Majeſty's 'name, to require you to receive into 'your cuſtody, the body of *John* '*James*, whom we ſend you here- 'with; being taken this preſent day 'at a *Conventicle* or private meeting, 'in the pariſh of *White-chapel*; and 'there ſpeaking in the audience of the 'people preſent, *treaſonable words* a- 'gainſt his Majeſty's royal perſon. 'You ſhall therefore keep him cloſe 'priſoner until further order; and this 'ſhall be your warrant. Given under 'our hands, this 19th day of *October* '1661. *And committed to priſon.*

'*John Robinſon*, Lieut. *of* '*the* Tower; *Thomas Bide*, '*Edw. Chard*, *Tho. Swallow*.

I SHALL refer the reader to the narrative, publiſh'd in 1662, where he may ſee the crimes charg'd againſt him; how prov'd, by whom, and in what manner; with his defence and avow'd innocency, from firſt to laſt; and his ſolemn appeals to the Lord thereupon, that by ſome ſignal teſtimony, he would manifeſt the ſame. Of which no judgment is there paſs'd,

paſs'd, but ſubmitted to the diſcerning and impartial reader.

His wife petitions the King for him.

IN the interval between his caſting and condemnation, upon *Wedneſday* evening, his wife, by the advice of ſome friends, endeavour'd to make addreſs to the King, to acquaint him with her huſband's innocency, and the condition of thoſe looſe perſons, who had falſely accus'd him. Which ſhe put in writing, leſt ſhe might either want an opportunity, or not have courage enough to ſpeak to him. With ſome difficulty at laſt ſhe met the King, and preſented him with the paper, acquainting him who ſhe was. To whom he held up his finger and ſaid, *Narrative*, p. 24. '*Oh! Mr.* James, *he is a ſweet gentle-*'*man*;' but following him for ſome further anſwer, the door was ſhut againſt her.

THE next morning ſhe attended again; and an opportunity ſoon preſenting, ſhe implor'd his Majeſty's anſwer to *Is rejected.* her requeſt. Who then reply'd, '*That* '*he was a rogue, and ſhould be hang'd.*' One of the Lord's attending him, aſk'd her of whom ſhe ſpake. The King anſwer'd, '*Of* John James, *that rogue*; *he* '*ſhall be hang'd*; *yea, he ſhall be hang'd.*'

WHEN he was brought to the bar to receive ſentence; he was aſk'd what he had to ſay for himſelf, why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſs'd upon him. He

He anſwer'd, 'That he had not much 'to ſay, only two or three ſcriptures he 'would leave with them.

'THE firſt ſcripture was, *Jer.* xxvi. 'v. 14, 15. *As for me, do as ſeemeth good 'unto you. But know ye for certain, that 'if you put me to death, you ſhall ſurely 'bring innocent blood upon yourſelves, and 'upon this city, and upon the inhabitants 'thereof.*

'THE ſecond ſcripture was, *Pſalms* 'cxvi. 15. *Precious in the ſight of the 'Lord is the death of his ſaints.* He al-'ſo minded that good word of the Lord: '*He that toucheth the Lord's people, touch-'eth the apple of his eye.*

'HE told them, he had no more to 'ſay for himſelf; only one word for the 'Lord, and ſo he had done:

'THAT *Jeſus Chriſt*, the ſon of 'God, was King of *England*, *Scotland*, 'and *Ireland*, and of all the kingdoms of 'this world.'

WHICH being ſpoken, they ſilenc'd him, and the court proceeded to ſentence; and the Judge pronounc'd ſentence of death againſt him; and he was executed, according to his ſentence, at *Tyburn*, *Nov.* 26. 1661. *He is executed at* Tyburn.

NOW if there was any undue combination againſt this poor man; if it was for ſome reaſon of ſtate, rather than for any real guilt on his part; if his judgment

ment and conſcience, rather than any juſt crime, were the cauſe of his thus ſuffering; his blood muſt be innocent blood.

SOME remarkable things are taken notice of in the Narrative, publiſh'd after his death, as befalling thoſe, who had been inſtruments in his ſufferings, or had expreſs'd a delight in them. But I chuſe to paſs them over in ſilence.

THE blood of this poor man, did not ſatiate that devouring wolf *John Robinſon*: For many (who ſuffer'd much from the brutiſh hands of his ſoldiers, to whom he gave money to encourage them in their barbarity) were by him committed to priſon.

Anno 1662. *Behold a cry*, p. 5.

'ON the 25th of *May* 1662: At a 'meeting in *Shakeſpear's-walk*, near *Wap-*'*ping-wall*, where ſome people were 'peaceably met, there came ſoldiers in a 'hoſtile manner, with ſwords and muskets, 'pulling and halling ſome of them; and 'the man that was preaching, they pull'd 'violently down from the place where 'he ſtood, though it was his own hired 'houſe. And ſuch was their rage, not-'withſtanding he was their priſoner, be-'cauſe he continu'd ſpeaking, they cry'd, 'ſhoot him, before he had any *trial*, or 'was found worthy or not worthy of 'death. And ſuch was their violence, 'that a child belonging unto the family,

'about

'about a year and a quarter old, was ſo 'affrighted and awak'd out of its ſleep, 'as it lay in the cradle; with which 'fright it fell ſick, and never recover'd 'its ſickneſs, but died three days after. 'And whether they were the cauſe of 'its death or no, is left to the Lord to 'determine at the laſt day. They car- 'ried *two* of the ſaid meeting before 'John Robinſon; who committed them 'to *Newgate*, where they ſtill remain, 'nothing being laid to their charge.

Two more impriſon'd by John Robinſon.

'ON the ſame 25th of *May*, the ſol- 'diers came to *Beech-lane*, to a meeting 'there, with their ſwords drawn, pul- 'ling and halling of them violently: And 'two of them they carried in the morn- 'ing to *Newgate*; where they were kept, 'and never had before any *magiſtrate* to 'be heard, nor accus'd by any till the 'quarter-ſeſſions, which was a month or 'five weeks after.

Ibidem, p. 6.

Two carried to Newgate *without a mittimus.*

'ON the firſt day of *June* 1662, they 'came to the aforeſaid *Beech-lane*, with 'their ſwords drawn as before. The *En- 'ſign* came in with his ſword drawn, 'holding it over the head of him that 'was preaching; pulling them violently 'down the ſtairs, carrying them to 'Paul's-yard, and from thence to *Ri- 'chard Brown*, who committed them to 'Newgate.

Some ſent to Newgate *by* Richard Brown.

'ON

'ON the first day of *June* 1662, the 'soldiers came to *Brick-lane* in like vio-'lent manner, with swords and muskets; 'and forced him that was speaking down, 'with great outrage; and carried *ten* of 'the men before *John Robinson*, who 'after his wonted manner committed 'them to *New-prison*. This was in the 'morning. And in the afternoon they 'came again with far greater violence; 'broke the pulpit all to pieces, they left 'not a whole piece of wood; and car-'ried *eight* more to the *Tower*, before '*John Robinson*, who committed them to '*New-prison* also. But not to omit an 'act worthy the observing; *John Robin-'son* as he came at night by the watch-'house, at *Brick-lane* end, where the 'valiant soldiers were keeping guard; 'they told him what they had done, how 'they had broken the pulpit? He, *John* 'Robinson, answer'd, it was well done; 'and gave the soldiers a piece of gold, as 'a reward for their good service.

Ten sent to New-Prison *by* Robinson.

Eight more committed by him.

Ibid. p. 7.

'ON the eighth of *June* 1662, the 'soldiers came again to *Brick-lane*, exer-'cising their wonted violence and tu-'multuous behaviour. They carried a-'way *seven* men before *John Robinson*, 'who committed them to *New-prison*, 'where they yet remain. On the same 'eighth of *June*, the soldiers came to the 'meeting in *Beech-lane*, manifesting their

Seven more committed by Robinson.

'fury

'fury and rage: They took away only 'him that was preaching, and carried 'him before *Richard Brown*; when the 'man was before him, amongſt the reſt 'of his learned diſcourſe, he told him, '*He ſhould teach him a new trade* (mean-'ing, as we ſuppoſe, that he would ſend 'him to *Bridewell*) *and have the ſkin 'from his back*: He committed him to '*Newgate*.

A miniſter committed by Brown.

'ON the fifteenth of *June* 1662, the 'ſoldiers came again to *Brick-lane*, in 'ſuch manner as they were wont. They 'took *ſix* men and carried them to *John 'Robinſon*, who committed them to *New-'gate*. And on the ſame day they came 'to the meeting at *Beech-lane*, and vio-'lently ſet upon them with drawn ſwords, 'pulling of them out of their meeting-'place with great rage. The place they 'ſtood to preach in they broke it down 'with ſuch fury, that they broke their 'muskets: They ſtruck ſeveral perſons 'to their detriment in point of health. 'After which they took *two* men more, 'carried them to *Paul's-yard*, and from 'thence to *Newgate*, where they were 'kept while *Seſſions*, not being at all com-'mitted, or had before any *magiſtrate*; 'and at Seſſions returned to *Newgate*, 'nothing being laid to their charge, 'where they ſtill remain.

Six committed by Robinſon.

Two committed without Mittimus.

'ON

'ON the same fifteenth of *June*, 1662, 'the soldiers came with great fury and 'rage, with their swords drawn, to the 'meeting at *Petty-France*; where they 'very inhumanly wounded a boy almost 'to death; it was doubtful whether he 'would recover. They took away him 'that preached, and carried him to *New-* 'gate, and never had him before any *A minister committed without a mittimus.* 'magistrate, where he remained till Ses- 'sions, and from thence was returned 'to *Newgate* again, where he yet re- 'mains.

'ON the twenty-ninth of *June*, sol- 'diers came to *Petty-France*, full of rage 'and violence, with their swords drawn. 'They wounded some, and struck others, 'broke down the gallery, and made 'much spoil: This was in the morning. 'In the afternoon the soldiers came to '*Brick-lane*, practising their wonted cruel- 'ty, by pulling, halling, and beating them; *Several committed by* Robin- 'and took several, had them before *J.* son. '*Robinson*, who committed them to *New-* 'Prison.

Ibidem, p. 8. 'ON the sixth of the month called '*July*, the soldiers came like beasts of 'prey, to *Brick-lane*, where they shut 'the door, and kept in all that were 'there, and with great violence they 'broke the forms before their faces; 'they left not one form whole, taking 'the legs and hurling them against the 'win-

'dows, pulling and hauling many; not 'regarding *ſex*, *childhood*, nor *old age*. 'They took *ſix* men, and had them be- 'fore *John Robinſon*, who committed them 'to *New Bridewell*. In the morning fol- 'lowing, they were by the keepers of '*Bridewell*, call'd *to beat hemp:* Which 'they refuſing to do, were put into *New- priſon*, to the reſt of their fellow-ſuffer- 'ers, where they ſtill are.

Six committed by Robinſon.

'ON the 27th of the ſame month, 'the ſoldiers came to *Brick-lane* afore- 'ſaid, with a multitude of rude people, 'as butchers out of *White-chapel*, bailiff's- 'followers, boys and ſuch like unruly 'and debauch'd fellows, with a conſta- 'ble like themſelves: Who, as we heard, 'told *John Robinſon*, that he could not 'overcome them, nor break the meet- 'ing at *Brick-lane*. *John Robinſon* an- 'ſwer'd, as was ſaid, *That then he ſhould 'let in the multitude upon them, and let 'them tear the cloaths from their backs*; 'or words to that purpoſe: Which may 'very well be judg'd to be true, for the 'aboveſaid ungodly wretches, ſoldiers and 'conſtables, after they had beat, pull'd, 'and hall'd them in a very inhuman 'manner themſelves, ſet the great gates 'wide open: The conſtable, namely '*Bartlet* a cook, and *Brown* the mar- 'ſhal, a wicked lewd fellow, calling the 'rude multitude in, march'd down be-

'fore them, ſaying to them, *Do your work, boys:* Which they did, for they beat the women and maids, broke the forms, the glaſs windows, and the door, making ſuch ſpoil and havock as was ſeldom heard of; ſparing none, no not women big with child. This *Brown* the marſhal being aſk'd, why he beat the women? he ſaid, Who ſaw me? Who will ſwear it? And with thoſe words, fell more violently upon the women, ſome whereof were with child; ſtriking of them with his fiſts, ſuch blows that made them reel. Again, a maid had her bible ſnatch'd away; ſhe labouring to get it again, was ſtruck over the eye, that it was black a long time after. Then the ſoldiers took *ſix* men and a woman, and carried them to *John Robinſon*; who notwithſtanding committed them all to *New-priſon*.

Seven committed by Robinſon.

Ibidem, p. 9.

'ON the third day of the month call'd *Auguſt* 1662, when the priſoners in *Newgate*, call'd *Baptiſts*, were in their chamber, ſeeking the Lord, and ſpeaking to one another, that they might as their duty is, provoke one another to love and good works: About four of the clock in the afternoon, the thieves, as houſe-breakers, pick-pockets, highwaymen, came with violence into our room, one took up a bible from the table, and threw it down to the ground,

The Baptiſts *priſoners aſſaulted in* Newgate.

Heb. x.

'aſking

'asking what we did there? Struck one 'in the face with his fiſt, and he with 'the reſt fell upon us, drew their knives, 'and endeavour'd to ſtab ſome of us. But 'the Lord was pleas'd to deliver us from 'their cruelty; for we took courage 'to defend ourſelves, and eſcaped their 'bloody hands. And on the ſame day, 'the like violence, as we were in-'form'd, was offer'd to thoſe brethren 'in the *White-Lyon, Southwark*, by the 'felons there. And on the firſt of *June* 'ſo called, 1662; which was upon the 'firſt day of the week, after we were 'brought to *priſon*, ſome of the keepers 'did come up to us, and charge us that 'we ſhould not pray nor preach; for if 'we did, they had order to put us into 'the hole, and that they muſt do it. 'And though that was not executed; yet 'the felons did come violently upon us 'in our room, and did beat ſome of us, 'and threaten us all, ſaying, they would 'now order us well enough, for they had 'commiſſion ſo to do.

And in White-Lyon *priſon in* South-wark.

POSTCRIPT.

'WE would not be underſtood by 'any, that we ſend out this *cry*, be-'cauſe we are wearied with what we 'have ſuffer'd, or afraid of what we 'may further ſuffer; but that we might

Ibidem, p. 15.

'ſhew to the world that our ſufferings 'are altogether contrary to law and hu-'manity itſelf.

'FOR did they no more than were 'law, we ſhould be ſilent, and willing, 'with much rejoycing, to endure and 'ſuffer it, in that bleſſed cauſe of the 'Goſpel, which we are not aſham'd of, 'nor of the teſtimony of the Lord *Je-'ſus*; for whom we are willing to ſuf-'fer the loſs of all things, eſteeming it a 'very choice mercy, that the Lord ſhould 'accept of ſuch poor nothing and un-'worthy creatures as we are, to bear a 'teſtimony for him, againſt idolatry and 'prophaneſs.'

Anno 1664. THE perſecution againſt the *Baptiſts* ſtill increas'd; and many more inſtances might be produc'd of the ſeverities us'd againſt them, both in *London*, and in almoſt all the counties in *England*; and in the country was uſually the greateſt cruelty and injuſtice practis'd.

Manuſcript penes me. NEAR *Ailſbury* in *Buckinghamſhire*, there were ſeveral Gentlemen, if they deſerve that name, in the commiſſion of the peace, who endeavour'd to diſtinguiſh themſelves, by their zeal in proſecuting the *Non-conformiſts*. They not only fill'd the *county goal*, with priſoners of this character; but alſo took two large houſes in *Ailſbury*, and turn'd them into *priſons*, to make room

room for their great numbers. Nor were they contented with the ordinary ſeverities in this caſe, ſuch as impriſonment and confiſcation of goods, which were their daily exerciſe; but they endeavour'd to revive the old practice of puniſhing *Hereticks* with *baniſhment and death.*

THERE was a clauſe, in an Act made the 35th of *Elizabeth* againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, to this purpoſe, that if any perſon had been legally convicted of being at a *Conventicle*, and ſhould after three months impriſonment for the ſame, refuſe to conform to the Church of *England*, they ſhould be oblig'd to abjure the land, that is, be baniſhed, and ſwear never to come back again without leave; and if they ſhould refuſe, *either to conform or abjure the realm*, they ſhould then be guilty of *felony*, without benefit of the *clergy*. This clauſe ſeem'd not to have been taken notice of ſince the *Reſtoration*, or at leaſt none would ſo mind it, as to put it into execution. Draconica, *p.* 2. Pulton's *Stat.* p. 1030.

THERE were twelve perſons, ten men and two women, all *Baptiſts*, who had been taken at their meeting, in or near *Ailsbury*; and having been legally convicted of the ſame, three months before, were now brought before the bench of juſtices at their *Quarter-ſeſſions*; and there required, either to conform themſelves to the *Church of England*, *Ten men and two women condemned at* Ailsbury.

and take the oaths of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy*, or to abjure the realm, as this law directed; and were aſſured, that if they refuſed to do either of theſe, *ſentence of death* ſhould be paſſed againſt them. However, that there might be ſome ſhew of clemency, they gave them 'till the afternoon to conſider of it. Mr. *Farrow*, one of the juſtices of that county, who liv'd at *Ailsbury*, was the principal agent in this proſecution: And the better to carry on his malicious deſign, he was this day made their *Chairman*. Several of the *Juſtices* left the bench, either being aſhamed of theſe rigorous proceedings, or afraid of the conſequences of ſuch ſeverity. But *Farrow* and three or four more continued, and were reſolved to puſh on this matter.

WHEN the *priſoners* were again brought forth, they all declared, that *they could neither conform to the Church of England, nor abjure their native country and relations*, and therefore muſt throw themſelves on the mercy of the *court*. Upon this they were by virtue of the aforecited law, declared guilty of *felony*, and ſentence of *death* accordingly paſſed on them, and they were remitted back to *goal*, 'till their *execution*. The men were, *Stephen Dagnal*, miniſter; —— *Ellit*, a teacher; *William Whitchurch*, a glover and deacon of their congregation; *Thomas Hill*,

a

a linnen-draper; *William Welch*, a tallow-chandler; *Thomas Monk*, a farmer; —— *Brandon*, a ſhoemaker; and three more, whoſe names I cannot obtain: The women were, *Mary Jackman*, a widow, who had ſix children; *Ann Turner*, ſpinſter.

THE ſentence was no ſooner paſſed againſt them, but the officers were ſent to their ſeveral houſes, to ſeize on their goods, and whatever effects of theirs could be found: Which order was executed immediately, and great havock made of what little poſſeſſions they had. The reſt of the *Diſſenters* who lived in that town were not a little alarmed at this proceeding, and expected it would quickly come to their turns, to be treated after the ſame manner. Theſe therefore ſhut up their ſhops alſo; who being the greateſt part of the inhabitants, it put a great ſtop to commerce, and ſtruck the whole *town* with great horrour and ſurprize. *Brandon*, one of the condemned perſons, was prevailed upon, by the tears and earneſt entreaties of his wife, to make a recantation, and take the oaths; but he preſently found ſuch horrour and diſtreſs in his mind, for what he had done, as exceeded all his former fears of death, or grief for his family. He voluntarily returned to the *Priſon* again, declared, with the greateſt

The Town much alarmed thereat.

ſigns of grief and trouble, his repentance of what he had done, and there continued with his companions, reſolving to die with them, in defence of that cauſe he had ſo ſhamefully renounced.

Thomas Monk, ſon to him of that name, among the condemned, upon the paſſing of the ſentence, immediately took horſe for *London*, where he applied himſelf to Mr. *William Kiffin*, a man of great note among the *Baptiſts*. and one that had as great an intereſt at court, as any of that profeſſion, and particularly with chancellor *Hide*: When he had revealed the whole matter to him, they go with great expedition to *Hide*, and intreat him to lay their caſe before his Majeſty, which he readily did. The King ſeemed very much ſurprized, that any of his ſubjects ſhould be put to death for their religion only, and enquired whether there was any law in force that juſtified ſuch proceedings. When he was ſatisfied about this, he promiſed his pardon, and gave orders to the Lord Chancellor accordingly: But when they conſidered, that the form of paſſing a pardon would require ſome time, and that thoſe who had ſo haſtily paſſed *a ſentence of death*, might be as raſh alſo in the execution of it; they renewed their ſuit to his Majeſty, that an immediate reprieve might be granted, which his Majeſty as graci-

The King pardons them.

ouſly

ouſly comply'd with; and it was immediately given to the ſaid *Thomas Monk*, who thereupon made all poſſible haſt down again to *Ailsbury*.

WHEN he reported the ſucceſs he had met with at court, and produced his Majeſty's reprieve, it was not more joyful to his friends, than ſurprizing to their perſecutors; and this put ſome ſtop to the violence of their proceedings in thoſe parts.

HOWEVER, the condemned perſons were continued cloſe priſoners 'till the next aſſizes, and then the judge brought down his Majeſty's pardon with him, and they were all ſet at liberty again.

Mr. Ben. Keach.

THE reverend and famous Mr. *Benjamin Keach* had no ſmall ſhare in the ſufferings of theſe times: He was often ſeized, when preaching, and committed to priſon, ſometimes bound, ſometimes releaſed upon bail, and ſometimes his life was threatened. The troopers, who were ſent down into *Buckinghamſhire*, where he was, to ſuppreſs ſuch meetings of the *Diſſenters* as they could find; having diſcovered a meeting where Mr. *Keach* was preaching, they came with great rage and violence upon the aſſembly, and ſwore they would kill the *preacher*. Accordingly he was ſeiz'd, and four of the troopers declared their reſolution to trample him to death with their

His Life attempted.

their horſes; and laying him bound on the ground, prepared themſelves for the fact. But the officer ſeeing their deſign, rode up towards them, and juſt as they were going to ſpur all their horſes at once upon him, interpoſed and prevented them. Then he was taken up and tied behind one of the troopers croſs his horſe, and ſo carried to *goal*; from whence after ſome time of ſuffering great hardſhips and trouble, he was releaſed.

He publiſhes a Primmer.

In this year he wrote a little book, intitled, *The Child's Inſtructor; or, a new and eaſie Primmer.* Several of his friends deſired him to print it for the uſe of their children; and accordingly he ſent it to *London* to be printed, without fixing his name thereunto, and had a recommendatory preface fixed to it by another hand. In this book were ſeveral things aſſerted, contrary to the doctrines and ceremonies of the *Church of England*: As that *infants* ought not to be baptized. That *Laymen* having abilities may preach the Goſpel. That *Chriſt* ſhould reign perſonally upon the earth in the latter day. &c.

Is taken up for it, and bound over to the Aſſizes.

THIS book was no ſooner printed, and ſome few of them ſent down to him, but one Mr. *Strafford*, a Juſtice of the Peace for that county, was inform'd thereof; who taking a Conſtable with him, went preſently to the houſe of Mr.

Mr. *Keach*, ſeized all the books he found there, and bound him over to the *Aſſizes*, in a recognizance of *one hundred pounds*, and two ſureties with him, *fifty pounds* each.

THE *Aſſizes* began at *Ailſbury*, *Octo.* 8, 1664, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Hide* was Judge. On the firſt day of the *Aſſize*, in the afternoon, Mr. *Keach* was called, who anſwering to his name, was brought to the bar. After the Judge had made ſome unjuſt reflections upon his perſon and profeſſion, to render him odious to the court, he held up one of the *Primmers* in his hand, and ſaid unto him, did not you write this book? Mr. *Keach* readily acknowledged, that he writ the greateſt part of it. Upon this the Judge anſwered, with a great ſhew of indignation, what have you to do to take other mens trades out of their hands? *I believe you can preach as well as write books.* Thus it is, to let you, and ſuch as you are, *to have the ſcriptures, to wreſt to your own deſtruction.* In your book you have made a new *creed*; I have ſeen three *creeds* before, but never ſaw a fourth till you made one. *His Trial.* *A brave proteſtant Judge.*

Keach. I have not made a *creed*, but a confeſſion of the *chriſtian faith*?

Judge. WHAT is a *creed* then?

Keach. YOUR Lordſhip ſaid, that you had never ſeen but three *creeds*; but thou-

thouſands of chriſtians have made a confeſſion of their faith.

THEN the judge ſaid ſeveral things concerning *baptiſm* and the *miniſters* of the Goſpel; and when Mr. *Keach* began to make anſwer, the Judge ſtopt him, ſaying, you ſhall not preach here, nor give the reaſons of your *damnable doctrine*, to ſeduce and infect the King's ſubjects; theſe are not things for ſuch as you to meddle with, nor to write books of divinity, I will try you for it before I ſleep, and then gave directions to the *Clerk* to draw up the indictment. But he was not ſo good as his word; for tho' he was very dilligent, and ſpent much of his own time to aſſiſt the *Clerk*, in preparing the bill, yet they could not get all things ready for the tryal till the next day.

WHILE the *Indictment* was drawing up, the witneſſes were ſworn, and bid to ſtand by the *Clerk*, 'till it was finiſh'd, and then to go with it to the *Grand Inqueſt*. During this interval, the Judge endeavoured to incenſe the *Jury* againſt the *priſoner*, repreſenting him as a baſe and dangerons fellow. I ſhall ſend you preſently, ſaid he, a bill againſt one, that has taken upon him to write a new *Primmer*, for the inſtruction of your children; and if this be ſuffered, children by learning of it will become ſuch as he is, and

and therefore I hope you will do your duty; and then the court broke up for that day. The next day, the court being ſet, the *Grand Jury* found the bill againſt him, and brought it in, endorſed, *billa vera*; and Mr. *Keach* being called to the bar, the *Clerk* ſaid,

Benja. Keach, hear your charge, and then read his *indictment*, which was to this effect:

THOU art here indicted by the name of *Benjamin Keach*, of *Winſlow* in the county of *Bucks*, for that thou being a ſeditious, heretical, and ſchiſmatical perſon, evilly and maliciouſly diſpoſed, and diſaffected to his Majeſty's government, and the government of the *Church of England*; didſt maliciouſly and wickedly, on the firſt day of *May*, in the ſixteenth year of the reign of our ſovereign Lord the King, write, print, and publiſh, or cauſe to be written, printed, and publiſhed, one ſeditious and venemous book, entitled, *The Child's Inſtructor*; *or, a new and eaſy Primmer*; wherein are contain'd by way of queſtion and anſwer, theſe *damnable poſitions*, contrary to the book of Common Prayer, and the Liturgy of the *Church of England*; that is to ſay, in one place you have thus written.

Q. WHO are the right ſubjects of *baptiſm?*

A.

A. Believers, or godly men and women only, who can make confeſſion of their faith and repentance. And in another place, you have maliciouſly and wickedly written theſe words.

Q. How ſhall it go with the ſaints?

A. O very well, it is the day that they have longed for; then ſhall they hear that ſentence, *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you*; and ſo ſhall they reign with Chriſt on the earth a thouſand years, even on mount *Sion*, in the new *Jeruſalem*, for there will Chriſt's throne be, on which they muſt ſit down with him.

Then follows this queſtion with the anſwer thereunto in plain Engliſh words:

Q. WHEN ſhall the reſt of the wicked and the fallen angels, which be the devils, be judged?

A. WHEN the thouſand years ſhall be expired, then ſhall all the reſt of the devils be raiſed and then ſhall be the general and laſt judgment; then ſhall all the reſt of the dead, and devils be judg'd by Chriſt, and his glorified Saints, and they being arraigned and judged, the wicked ſhall be condemned, and caſt by the angels into the lake of fire, there to be burned for ever and ever.

IN another place, you have wickedly and maliciouſly written, theſe plain Engliſh words: *Q.*

Q. WHY may not *Infants* be received into the church now, as they were under the law?

A. BECAUSE the fleſhly ſeed is caſt out, tho' God under that diſpenſation did receive *Infants* in a lineal way by generation; yet he that hath the key of *David, that openeth and no man ſhutteth, that ſhutteth, and no man openeth*, hath ſhut up that way into the church, and hath opened the door of regeneration, receiving in none now but *believers*.

Q. WHAT then is the caſe of *Infants?*

A. Infants that die are members of the kingdom of glory, tho' they be not members of the viſible church.

Q. Do they then that bring in *Infants* in a lineal way by generation, err from the way of truth?

A. YEA, they do; for they make not God's holy word their rule, but do preſume to open a door, that Chriſt hath ſhut, and none ought to open.

AND alſo, in another place, thou haſt wickedly and malicioufly compoſed *A ſhort confeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith*; in which thou haſt affirmed this concerning the ſecond perſon in the Bleſſed Trinity, in theſe plain Engliſh words:

I ALSO believe, that he roſe again from the dead, and aſcended into Heaven above, and there now ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence

thence he ſhall come again, at the appointed time, to reign perſonally upon the earth, and to be judge of the quick and dead.

AND in another place, thou haſt wickedly and maliciouſly affirmed theſe things concerning true Goſpel Miniſters, in theſe plain Engliſh words following:

CHRIST hath not choſen the wiſe and prudent men after the fleſh, not great *Doctors* and *Rabbies*, not many mighty and noble ſaith, St. *Paul*, are called, but rather the poor and deſpiſed, even tradeſmen, and ſuch like, as was *Matthew*, *Peter*, *Andrew*, *Paul* and others. And Chriſt's true Miniſters have not their learning and wiſdom from men, or from univerſities, or human ſchools; for human learning, arts and ſciences, are not eſſential, in order to the making of a true miniſter; but only the gift of God, which cannot be bought with ſilver or gold. And alſo, as they have freely received the gift of God, ſo they do freely adminiſter; they do not preach for hire, for gain or filthy lucre, they are not like falſe teachers, who look for gain from their quarters; who eat the fat, and cloath themſelves with the wool, and kill them that are fed. Thoſe that put not into their mouths they prepare war againſt. Alſo, they are not Lords over God's heritage, they rule them not by force and cruelty

ty, neither have they power to force and compel men to believe, and obey their doctrine, but are only to perſuade and intreat; this is the way of the Goſpel as Chriſt taught them. And many other things haſt thou ſeditiouſly, wickedly, and maliciouſly written in the ſaid book, to the great diſpleaſure of Almighty God, the ſcandal of the Liturgy of the *Church of England*, the diſaffection of the King's people to his Majeſty's government, the danger of the peace of this Kingdom, to the evil example of others, and contrary to the ſtatute in that caſe made and provided.

THE *Indictment* being read, the *Clerk* ſaid,

How ſay you, *Benjamin Keach*, are you guilty or not guilty?

Keach. THE *Indictment* is very long, I cannot remember half of it, nor have I been accuſtomed to plead to *Indictments*; I deſire to have a Copy of it, and liberty to confer with council about it, in order to put in my exceptions; and then I ſhall plead to it.

Judge. IT is your intention to delay your trial 'till the next *Aſſizes*.

Keach. No, my Lord, I have no deſign by this to delay my trial.

Judge. I will not deny you what is your right, but you muſt firſt plead to the

Indictment, and afterwards you ſhall have a copy of it.

Keach. I deſire I may have a copy of it, before I plead, in order to put in my exceptions againſt it.

Judge. YOU ſhall not have it before you plead, *guilty or not guilty.*

Keach. IT is what has been granted to others.

Judge. YOU ſhall not have a copy of it firſt, and if you refuſe to plead *guilty or not guilty*, I ſhall take it *pro Confeſſo*, and give *judgment* againſt you accordingly.

WHEN Mr. *Keach* ſaw he was thus overruled by the Judge, and that he was denied his right as an Engliſhman, he pleaded *not guilty.*

Judge. NOW you may have a copy of your *Indictment*; and I will give you *an hour's time* to conſider of it.

Keach. IF I may have no longer time, I don't deſire one.

Judge. I have ſomething elſe to do than to wait upon you, you are not a perſon fit to go abroad 'till the next *Aſſizes*, and you would think it hard if I ſhould commit you to *Goal* till then; but becauſe you ſhall not ſay, but that you were offered fair, if you will find ſufficient ſureties for your appearance at the next *Aſſize*, and for your good behaviour till then, you ſhall not be tried till then.

BUT

BUT Mr. *Keach* knowing, that his appearing at any diſſenting-meeting, would be deemed in thoſe evil times a breach of his good behaviour, dared not to accept of this propoſal, and ſaid, I am willing to be tried now.

Judge. Go on then, a God's name.

THEN the *Jury* were called by their names, and ſworn well and truly to try the *Traverſe* between the King and the Priſoner.

UPON this the *Clerk* read the *Indictment*, and told them that he had pleaded *not guilty*, and that their charge was to enquire whether he was *guilty* or not; and ſo the witneſſes were called, whoſe names were *Neal* and *Whitehall*.

Neal ſwore, that Juſtice *Strafford* ſending for him to wait upon him, he coming to his worſhip, was commanded to fetch his *ſtaff of authority*, and come to him again, and then they went to one *Moody*'s ſtall, and asked for ſome *Primmers* which he had; but he anſwered he had none; from thence they went to *Benjamin Keach*'s houſe, where firſt they ſaw his wife, he himſelf being in an inward room; they asked her if there were not ſome *Primmers* in the houſe; ſhe ſaid there were, and there were about thiry brought forth, and delivered to him.

JUSTICE *Strafford* alſo depoſed, That going to the houſe of the *Priſoner*, he

found and ſeized the ſaid *Primmers*; and that the *Priſoner* at the bar confeſſed before him, that he writ and compoſed the ſaid book; and then a copy of the *Priſoner*'s examination before the ſaid deponent, ſigned with his own hand, was produced and read. Wherein was contained, that the *Priſoner* being asked whether he was the *Author* or writer of the ſaid book, anſwered, yes he was, and further declared, that he delivered part of the *Copy* to one *Oviat*, a printer, ſince dead, and that the reſt of the ſaid *Copy* he ſent up by another hand, but that he knew not who printed it; that about forty of them were ſent down to him, of which he had diſpoſed about twelve, and that the price was five pence each book.

THEN the Judge called for a *Common Prayer Book*, and ordered one of the *Primmers* to be given to the *Jury*, and commanded the *Clerk* to read thoſe ſentences in the *Indictment*, that were taken out of the ſaid book, that the *Jury* might turn to them, to ſee that the ſaid poſitions were contained therein.

THE firſt poſition, which affirms that *Believers only are the right ſubjects of Baptiſm*, being read. This, ſays the Judge, is contrary to the book of *Common Prayer*, for that appoints *Infants* to be baptized, as well as men and women; and then read

read ſeveral places, wherein the baptizing of ſuch is enjoined and vindicated.

THE next poſition is that, which affirms, that *the Saints ſhall reign with Chriſt a thouſand years.*

THIS, ſays the Judge, is contrary to the *Creed*, in the book of *Common Prayer*, and is an old *Hereſy*, which was caſt out of the Church a thouſand years ago, and was likewiſe condemned by the council of *Conſtance*, about five hundred years after, and hath lain dead ever ſince, 'till now this *Raſcal* hath revived it.

UPON reading that poſition in the *Indictment*, which denies that *Infants are to be received into the Church now, as they were under the Law*: The Judge ſaid, this alſo is contrary to the book of *Common Prayer*; which appoints *Infants* to be received into the Church, and directs the Prieſt to ſay, when he hath ſprinkled the Child, *We receive this Child into the Congregation of Chriſt's Flock*, &c.

AND to the next poſition in the *Indictment*, wherein it is affirmed, that *Infants that die, are Members of the Kingdom of Glory, tho' not of the viſible Church.* The Judge ſaid, this he ſpeaks of *Infants* in general; ſo that the Child of a *Turk*, is made equal to the Child of a *Chriſtian*; but our Church hath determined otherwiſe, *viz.* That if an *Infant* die after *Baptiſm*, and before it hath actually ſin-

ned, it is ſaved; becauſe *original Sin* is waſhed away in *Baptiſm.*

AFTER this was read, that poſition in the *Indictment* which was taken out of the *confeſſion of Faith,* made by *Benja. Keach.* This, ſaith the Judge, is contrary to our *Creed*; for whereas this ſaith of Chriſt, *that he aſcended into Heaven above, and there now ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he ſhall come again, at the appointed time of the Father, to reign perſonally upon the Earth, and to be the judge both of the quick and dead.* Our Creed ſaith only, *from thence he ſhall come to judge both the quick and dead.* And as to that concerning *Goſpel Miniſters,* he ſaid, this is alſo contrary to the book of *Common Prayer*: For whereas the poſition in the *Indictment* ſaith, *that Chriſt hath not choſen great Rabbies and Doctors, but rather the Poor and Deſpiſed, and Tradeſmen*: The book of *Common Prayer,* does admit of ſuch *viz. Doctors and Rabbies,* and then read ſome paſſages, concerning the qualifications of *Miniſters,* and their manner of conſecration in proof of it. And afterwards ſaid, becauſe Chriſt when he was upon earth made choice of tradeſmen to be his Diſciples, this *Fellow* would have *Miniſters* to be ſuch now; *Taylors, Pedlars,* and *Tinkers,* ſuch *Fellows* as he is; but it is otherwiſe now, as appears from the manner in which the

the Church has appointed them to be choſen, ordained, and conſecrated.

THE Judge having done, the *Priſoner* thought now he might have liberty to ſpeak for himſelf, and accordingly began.

Keach. As to the *Doctrines* ——,

Judge. YOU ſhall not ſpeak any thing here, except to the matter of *Fact*, that is to ſay, whether you wrote this book or not.

Keach. I DESIRE liberty to ſpeak to the particulars of my *Indictment*, and anſwer thoſe things that have ——

Judge. YOU ſhall not be ſuffered to give the reaſons of your *Doctrine* here, to ſeduce the King's ſubjects.

Keach. Is my *Religion* ſo bad, that I may not be allow'd to ſpeak?

Judge. I KNOW your *Religion*, you are a *fifth monarchy man*, and you can preach as well as write books, and you would preach here if I would let you; but I ſhall take ſuch order, as you ſhall do no more miſchief.

THIS threatning, made Mr. *Keach* and ſome of his friends, who were unacquainted in the law in this caſe, fear, that he intended to have him hanged.

Keach. I DID not write all the book, for there is an *Epiſtle* wrote to it by another hand, neither can it be proved, that I writ all that is put into the *Indictment*.

Judge. IT is all one, whether you

writ it yourſelf, or dictated to another, that wrote it; but it appears, by your examination, under your own hand, that you wrote it all.

Keach. BECAUSE I writ the greater part of it, I was contented to let it go with the word *all* in my examination before Juſtice *Strafford*; but I cannot in conſcience ſay that I writ it all, nor is it proved, that I publiſhed it.

Judge. YES, for *Moody* had ſix books of you.

Keach. I DID neither ſell them nor deliver them unto him.

Judge. HE had them at your houſe, and tis not likely he ſhould take them without your conſent.

Keach. I Do not ſay he had them without my conſent.

Judge. IT is all one then.

SOME few more words paſſed; but Mr. *Keach* being not permitted to anſwer to the particulars charged upon him, was content not to inſiſt upon more proof of his being the *Author* of the book.

THEN the Judge ſummed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the *Jury*, wherein he caſt many reflections on the *Priſoner*, to incenſe them againſt him, like as he had done before to the *Grand Inqueſt.*

THE *Jury* having received their charge, withdrew, and ſtaid for ſome hours. At length one of the Bailiffs who attended them, came and told the Judge, that the Jury about the

the *Primmer* could not agree. But, ſaid the Judge, they muſt agree; the *Bailiff* replied, they deſire to know whether one of them may not ſpeak to your Worſhip, about ſomething whereof they are in doubt. Yes, *privately*, ſaid the Judge; and ordered that one ſhould come to him on the bench. And when the *Officer* had fetched one, he was ſet upon the *Clerk*'s table, and the Judge and he whiſpered together a great while. And it was obſerved, that the Judge having his hands upon his ſhoulders, would frequently ſhake him, as he ſpake to him.

UPON the Perſon's returning, the whole *Jury* quickly came in, and being according to cuſtom, called over by their names, the *Clerk* proceeded.

Clerk. How ſay you, is *Benja. Keach* guilty of the matter contained in the *Indictment* againſt him, or not *guilty?*

Foreman. GUILTY in part.

Clerk. OF what part?

Foreman. THERE is ſomething in the *Indictment* which is not in the book.

Clerk. WHAT is that?

Foreman. IN the *Indictment*, he is charged with theſe words; when the thouſand years ſhall be expired, then ſhall all the reſt of the *Devils* be raiſed; but in the book it is, then ſhall the reſt of the *Dead* be raiſed.

Clerk. Is he guilty of the *Indictment*, that ſentence excepted?

ONE

ONE *of the Jurymen.* I cannot in conſcience find him *guilty*, becauſe the words in the *indictment*, and the book do not agree.

Judge. THAT is only thro' a miſtake of the *Clerk*, and in that one ſentence only: And you may find him guilty of all, that ſentence excepted. But why did you come in before you were agreed?

Foreman. WE thought we had been agreed.

Judge. YOU muſt go out again and agree. And as for you that ſay, you cannot in *conſcience* find him *guilty*, if you ſay ſo again, without giving reaſons for it, I ſhall take an order with you.

THEN the *Jury* withdrew, and in a little time return'd again, and brought in this verdict, that he was guilty of the indictment; that ſentence, wherein *devils* is inſerted inſtead of *dead*, only excepted.

His ſentence. UPON this *Benjamin Keach* was call'd to the bar; and the Judge proceeded, and paſs'd *ſentence* as follows:

Judge. Benjamin Keach, you are here convicted, for writing, printing and publiſhing, a ſeditious and ſchiſmatical book, for which the court's judgment is this, and the court doth award: That you ſhall go to *goal* for a fortnight without bail or mainprize; and the next *Saturday*, to ſtand upon the *pillory* at *Ailſbury*

bury, in the open market, for the ſpace of two hours, from eleven of the clock to one, with a paper upon your head with this inſcription: 'For writing, printing 'and publiſhing, a ſchiſmatical book, 'intitled, *The Child's Inſtructor, or, a 'new and eaſy Primmer.*' And the next *Thurſday*, to ſtand in the ſame manner, and for the ſame time, in the market of *Winſlow*; and there your book ſhall be openly burnt, before your face, by the common hangman, in diſgrace of you and your doctrine: And you ſhall forfeit to the King's Majeſty the ſum of *twenty pounds*; and ſhall remain in *goal*, until you find *ſureties* for your good behaviour, and appearance at the next *Aſſizes*, there to *renounce your doctrines*, and make ſuch publick ſubmiſſion as ſhall be enjoined you: Take him away, keeper.

Keach. I HOPE I ſhall never *renounce thoſe truths*, which I have written in that book.

Clerk. MY Lord, he ſays, he hopes he ſhall *never repent*; but the Judge making no anſwer to this, the *Jaylor* took him away.

IT is eaſy to diſcover, that this trial was carried on in a very arbitrary manner, and a *verdict* extorted againſt him from the *Jury*. Not could any pardon be obtain'd, or the leaſt relaxation of the ſevere

ſevere ſentence, and the *Sheriff* took care that every thing ſhould be punctually performed, and that other things ſhould be expected: For according to the rigour of the law, he was kept cloſe priſoner till the *Saturday*; when according to the ſentence, he was brought to the *pillory* at *Ailſbury*; ſeveral of his religious friends and acquaintance accompanying him: And when they expreſſed his hard caſe, and the injuſtice of his ſufferings, he ſaid with a chearful countenance, *the croſs is the way to the crown.* His head and hands were no ſooner fixed in the pillory; but he began to addreſs himſelf to the ſpectators to this effect. Good people, I am not aſhamed to ſtand here this day, with this paper on my head; my Lord *Jeſus* was not aſhamed to ſuffer on the croſs for me; and it is for his cauſe that I am made a gazing-ſtock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedneſs that I ſtand here; but for writing and publiſhing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

Is put into the pillory at Ailſbury.

His behaviour there.

A CLERGYMAN that ſtood by could not forbear interrupting him: And ſaid, it is for writing and publiſhing *errors*; and you may now ſee, what your *errors* have brought you to.

MR. *Keach* reply'd, Sir, can you prove them errors; but before the *Clergyman* could

could return an anſwer, he was attacked by ſome from among the people. One told him, of his being pulled *drunk out of a ditch:* Another upbraided him with being lately found *drunk under a haycock.* At this all the people fell to laughing; and turn'd their diverſion from the ſufferer in the pillory to the *drunken prieſt*; inſomuch that he haſten'd away with the utmoſt diſgrace and ſhame.

AFTER the noiſe of this was over, the *priſoner* began to ſpeak again; ſaying, It is no new thing for the ſervants of the Lord to ſuffer, and be made a gazing-ſtock; and you that are acquainted with the ſcriptures know, that the way to the crown is by the croſs. The Apoſtle ſaith, *That thro' many tribulations we muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven*; and Chriſt ſaith, *He that is aſhamed of me and my words, in an adulterous and ſinful generation, of him ſhall the ſon of man be aſhamed, before the father, and before his holy angels.* But he was frequently interrupted by the *Jaylor*, who told him that he muſt not ſpeak, and that if he would not be ſilent, he muſt force him to it. After he had ſtood ſome time ſilent, getting one of his hands at liberty, he pull'd his *Bible* out of his pocket, and held it up to the people; ſaying, take notice, that the things which I have written and pub-

publiſhed, and for which I ſtand here this day, a ſpectacle to men and angels, are all contain'd in this *book*, as I could prove out of the ſame, if I had an opportunity.

AT this the *Jaylor* interrupted him again; and with great anger enquired, who gave him the *book*; ſome ſaid, his wife, who was near unto him, and frequently ſpoke in vindication of her huſband, and the principles for he which ſuffered. But Mr. *Keach* reply'd, and ſaid, that he took it out of his own pocket. Upon this the *Jaylor* took it from him, and faſtened up his hand again. But it was almoſt impoſſible to keep him from ſpeaking; for he ſoon began again, ſaying to this effect: It ſeems I cannot be ſuffered to ſpeak to the cauſe for which I ſtand here; neither could I be ſuffered the other day (on his trial I ſuppoſe he meant) but it will plead its own innocency, when the ſtrongeſt of its oppoſers ſhall be aſhamed.

I DO not ſpeak this out of prejudice to any perſon, but do ſincerely deſire, that the Lord would convert them, and convince them of their errors, that their ſouls may be ſaved in the day of the Lord *Jeſus*. *Good people*, the concernment of ſouls is very great; ſo great, that Chriſt died for them: And truly a concernment

cernment for ſouls was that which moved me to write and publiſh thoſe things, for which I now ſuffer, and for which I could ſuffer far greater things than theſe. It concerns you therefore to be very careful, otherwiſe it will be very ſad with you, at the revelation of the Lord *Jeſus* from heaven, for we muſt all appear before his tribunal. Here he was interrupted again, and forced to be ſilent for ſome time. But at length he ventur'd to ſpeak again; ſaying, I hope the Lord's people will not be diſcouraged at my ſuffering. Oh! did you but experience, ſays he, the great love of God, and the excellencies that are in him, it would make you willing to go through any ſufferings for his ſake. And I do account this the greateſt honour, that ever the Lord was pleas'd to confer upon me. After this, he was not ſuffered to ſpeak much more: For the *Sheriff* came in a great rage; and ſaid, if he would not be ſilent, he ſhould be *gagged*; and the *officers* were ordered to keep the people at a greater diſtance from him, though they declar'd they could not do it. At the end of a long ſilence he ventur'd again: This, ſays he, is one *yoke of Chriſt*, which I can experience *is eaſy* to me, and a *burthen* which he doth make *light*. But finding he could not be ſuffer'd to ſpeak, he kept ſilence till the whole

whole two hours were expired; only uttering this ſentence, *Bleſſed are they that are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* When the full time according to his ſentence was expired, the *Under-keeper* lifted up the board, and as ſoon as his head and hands were at liberty, he bleſſed God with a loud voice for his great goodneſs unto him.

He is put into the pillory again, and his book burnt.

ON the *Saturday* following, he ſtood in the ſame manner, and for the like time, at *Winſlow*, the town where he liv'd; and had his book *burnt before him*, according to the ſentence. But I cannot obtain any particulars of his behaviour there; and therefore therein muſt be ſilent, not doubting but that it was with the ſame chriſtian ſpirit and courage, as before.

THE perſon who preſerved this relation, being preſent, wrote down all he heard and ſaw, at the very inſtant; and makes this obſervation of his ſuffering, *viz.* That he ſtood in the pillory full two hours to a minute, which was a more ſtrict execution than ever he ſaw in town or country; that others always had their hands at liberty; but this *ſufferer* had his carefully kept in the holes, almoſt all the time which muſt render his ſuffering ſo much the more painful, yet, ſays he, *Thus judg-*

judgment is turned away backward, and justice ſtandeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the ſtreets, and equity cannot enter. He that departeth from evil, maketh himſelf a prey, and the Lord ſaw it, and it diſpleaſed him, that there was no judgment. Iſa. lxix. 14, 15.

THE perſecution againſt the profeſſing people of God, was carried on with great violence, and much innocent blood ſhed. But two dreadful judgments, one upon the back of the other, befel the great city of *London*; the *Peſtilence*, and the *Fire*: Which by many in that day, were look'd upon as tokens of God's anger againſt that perſecuting ſpirit gone forth amongſt the people.

THE account of the plague is taken notice of by Dr. *Calamy*, in his *continuation* of the account of the miniſters, *&c.* ſilenced after the Reſtoration, by or before the Act for Uniformity, taken from the treatiſe of Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, intitled, *God's terrible voice in the city*; which is very affecting. Anno 1665.

'HE there tells us, ſays the Doctor, 'that it was in *Holland* in 1664; and 'the ſame year began in ſome remote 'parts of this land; though the weekly 'bills of the city took notice but of three 'that then died there of that diſeaſe. In 'the beginning of *May* 1665, nine died of *Continuation*, p. 32.

'it in the heart of the city, and eight in 'the ſuburbs; the next week the bill 'fell from nine to three; in the next 'week it mounted from three to four-'teen; in the next to ſeventeen; in the 'next to forty-three. In *June* the num-'ber encreaſed from forty-three to one 'hundred and twelve; the next week to 'one hundred ſixty-eight; the next to 'two hundred ſixty-ſeven; the next to 'four hundred and ſeventy. In the firſt 'week of *July*, the number aroſe to ſe-'ven hundred twenty-five; the next week 'to one thouſand and eighty-nine; the 'next to one thouſand eight hundred and 'forty-three; the next to two thouſand 'and ten. In the firſt week in *Auguſt*, 'the number amounted to two thouſand 'eight hundred and ſeventeen; the next 'to three thouſand eight hundred and 'eighty; the next to four thouſand 'two hundred thirty-ſeven; the next to 'ſix thouſand one hundred and two. In '*September* a decreaſe of the diſtemper 'was hop'd for; but it was not yet come 'to its height: In the firſt week, there 'died of it ſix thouſand nine hundred 'eighty-eight: And though in the ſecond 'week the number abated, to ſix thou-'ſand five hundred forty-four; yet in the 'third week it aroſe to ſeven thouſand 'one hundred ſixty-five, which was the

'higheſt.

'highest. And then of the one hundred 'and thirty parishes, in and about the 'city, there were but four which were 'not infected: And in those there were 'but few people remaining, that were 'not gone into the country. In the 'house where he lived [Mr. *Thomas Vin-'cent*] there were eight in family, three 'men, three youths, an old woman and 'a maid. It was the latter end of *Sep-'tember* before any of them were touch-'ed. The maid was first seized with the 'distemper, which began with a shiver-'ing and trembling in her flesh, and 'quickly seized on her spirits. This was 'on the *Monday*, and she died on *Thurs-'day* full of tokens. On *Friday* one of 'the youths had a swelling in his groin, 'and on the *Lord's-day* died, with the 'marks of the distemper upon him. On 'the same day, another of the youths 'sickened, and on the *Wednesday* follow-'ing he died. On the *Thursday* night 'the master of the house fell sick, and 'within a day or two was full of spots, 'but was strangely recover'd, beyond his 'own or others expectation. In the fourth 'week of *September* there was a decrease, 'to five thousand five hundred thirty-'eight. In the first week of *October*, there 'was a farther decrease to four thousand 'nine hundred twenty-nine; in the next

'to four thouſand three hundred twenty-'ſeven; the next to two thouſand ſix 'hundred ſixty-five; the next to one 'thouſand four hundred twenty-one; and 'the next to one thouſand and thirty-one. 'The firſt week in *November* there was 'an increaſe to one thouſand four hun-'dred and fourteen; but it fell the week 'after to one thouſand and fifty; and 'the week after to ſix hundred fifty-two; 'and ſo leſſened more and more to the 'end of the year. And the whole number 'of thoſe that were reckoned to die of the 'plague in *London*, this year, was ſixty-'eight thouſand five hundred ninety-ſix.

'THE main body, ſays Dr. *Calamy*, 'of the publick miniſters retired from 'the danger, and left their pulpits va-'cant. In this caſe, the miniſters that 'had been ſilenced three years before, 'and had preached only privately, and 'to ſmall numbers, thought it their duty 'to give the beſt help they could to the 'many thouſands that remained in the 'city. They ſtaid and preached to vaſt 'congregations; and the immediate views 'of death before them, made both 'preachers and hearers, ſerious at an un-'common rate.

Anno 1666. 'THE vices and immoralities of the 'nation, ſays Mr. *Neal* *, not being ſuf-

* Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 404.

'ficiently

'ficiently punished by the *Plague*, it 'pleased Almighty God this year to suf-'fer the City of *London* to be laid in 'ashes, by a dreadful *conflagration*, which 'began behind the *Monument* in *Pud-'ding-lane*, *Sept.* 2. and within three or 'four days consumed thirteen thousand 'two hundred dwelling houses, and eigh-'ty-nine churches; among which was 'the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s; many pub-'lick structures, schools, libraries, and 'stately edifices. Multitudes of people 'lost their estates, their goods and mer-'chandize, and some few their lives; 'the King, the Duke of *York*, and many 'of the Nobility, were spectators of the 'desolation, but had not power to stop 'it; till at length it ceas'd almost as 'wonderfully as it began. *Moorfields* was 'filled with houshold-goods, and the 'people were forced to lie in huts and 'tents. Many families, who the last 'week were in large circumstances, were 'now reduc'd to beggary, and oblig'd to 'begin the world again. The authors of 'this *fire* were said to be the *Papists*, as 'appears by the inscription upon the *Mo-'nument*. The Parliament being of this 'persuasion, petitioned the King to issue 'out a proclamation, requiring all *Popish 'Priests* and *Jesuits* to depart the king-'dom within a month; and appointed a

'committee who received evidence of 'some *Papists*, that were seen to throw 'fire-balls into houses, and of others who 'had materials for it in their pockets; 'but the men were gone, and none suf-'fer'd but one *Hubert*, a *Frenchman*, 'by his own confession.'

IN this general confusion, the churches being burnt, and many of the parish ministers gone, for want of places of worship, the *Nonconformists* resolved again to supply the necessities of the people. Some churches were rais'd of boards, which they called *Tabernacles*: And the *Dissenters* fitted up large rooms with pulpits, seats and galleries; and many citizens frequented their meetings. But these calamities had no further influence upon the court prelates, than that they durst not at present prosecute the preachers so severely as before.

Anno 1667. THIS year put a stop to the power of the great Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, who had made himself obnoxious to the court, by his magisterial air towards the King. He was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of *England*, of High-Treason, for sundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings, contrary to law, by which he had acquir'd a greater

greater eſtate, than could be honeſtly gotten in that time. The Earl did not think fit to abide the ſtorm, but withdrew to *France*; leaving a paper behind him, in which he denied almoſt every article of his charge; but the Parliament voted it ſcandalous, and order'd it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. He was baniſhed the King's dominions for life, by Act of Parliament: 'And ſpent, 'ſays Mr. *Neal*, the remaining ſeven years 'of his life at *Roan* in *Normandy*, among '*Papiſts* and *Preſbyterians*, whom he 'would hardly ſuffer to live in his own 'country; and employ'd the chief of his 'time, in writing the hiſtory of the Grand 'Rebellion.' He gloried, ſays *Rapin* *, in his hatred of the *Preſbyterians*: And, perhaps, contributed more than any other, to that exceſs of animoſity, which ſtill ſubſiſts among the followers of his maxims and principles. But what gives a luſtre to his glory, is, that from the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of *York*, ſprung two *Princeſſes*, ſucceſſively Queens of *England*. 'His Lordſhip, 'ſays Mr. *Neal*, was a perſon of very 'conſiderable abilities, which have been 'ſufficiently diſplay'd by his admirers; 'but I have not been able to diſcover

* Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. p. 650.

'any of his great or generous actions 'for the ſervice of the publick; and how 'far his conduct with regard to the *Non-conformiſts* was conſiſtent with honeſty, 'religion or honour, muſt be left with 'the reader.'

CHAP. II.

From the baniſhment of the Earl of Clarendon, *to the end of the reign of King* Charles II.

Anno 1668. LORD *Clarendon*, the great patron of perſecuting power, having loſt the King's favour; and Archbiſhop *Sheldon* and Biſhop *Morley* being likewiſe under his diſpleaſure, affairs began to take another turn. For Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves *, 'That when complaints were made of 'ſome diſorders, and of ſome Conventi-'cles, the King ſaid, the Clergy were 'chiefly to blame for theſe diſorders, for 'if they had liv'd well, and gone about 'their pariſhes, and taken pains to con-'vince the *Nonconformiſts*, the nation

* Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 258.

'might

'might have been well ſettled; but they 'thought of nothing, but to get good 'benefices, and to keep a good table.' He adds, that the King once ſaid the following things to him in his cloſet; 'If 'the Clergy had done their parts, it had 'been an eaſy thing to run down the '*Nonconformiſts*; but they will do no-'thing, and will have me do every thing; 'and moſt of them do worſe, than if they 'did nothing. That he had a Chaplain 'a very honeſt man, but a very great 'blockhead, to whom he had given a li-'ving in *Suffolk*, that was full of that 'ſort of people [*Nonconformiſts.*] That this 'Chaplain had gone about among them 'from houſe to houſe, tho' he could not 'imagine what he could ſay to them; 'but that he believ'd, his nonſenſe ſuited 'their nonſenſe, for he had brought 'them all to church; and that in re-'ward of his diligence, he had given him 'a Biſhoprick in *Ireland*.'

SOME attempts began now to be made by Lord-Keeper *Bridgman*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*, Biſhop *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, Dr. *Burton*, *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, and others, for a comprehenſion of ſuch as could be brought into the church, by ſome abatements, and a *toleration* for the reſt. But this project was blaſted by the Court Biſhops, and Lord *Clarendon*'s friends; who took Anno 1669.

took the alarm, and rais'd a mighty outcry of the *danger of the church*. So when the Parliament met, notice was taken, that there were rumours without doors, of a bill to be offer'd for *comprehenſion* and *indulgence*. Upon which a vote was paſſed, that *no man ſhould bring ſuch a bill into the houſe*. 'And to cruſh the *Nonconformiſts* more effectually, ſays Mr. '*Neal* *, Archbiſhop *Sheldon* writ a circular letter to the Biſhops of his province, dated *June* 8. to ſend him a particular account of the Conventicles in their ſeveral Dioceſes, and of the numbers that frequented them, and whether they thought *they might be eaſily ſuppreſſed by the civil magiſtrate*. When he was provided with this information, he went to the King, and obtain'd a proclamation to put the laws in execution againſt the *Nonconformiſts*, and particularly againſt the *preachers*; according to the Statute of the 17th of King *Charles* II. which forbids their inhabiting in corporations.

'THUS, ſays he, the perſecution was revived: And the Parliament ſtill bent on ſeverities, appointed a committee to enquire into the behaviour of the *Nonconformiſts*. Who reported to the houſe, that divers Conventicles, and other ſe-

* Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 418.

'ditious

'ditious meetings, were held in their very 'neighbourhood, in defiance of the laws, 'and to the danger of the peace of the 'kingdom. General *Monk*, who was near 'his end, and ſunk almoſt into contempt, 'was employ'd to diſperſe them: and 'received the thanks of the houſe for his 'zeal in that important ſervice, wherein 'he was ſure to meet with no oppoſition. 'They alſo returned his Majeſty thanks, 'for his proclamation for ſuppreſſing Con-'venticles, deſiring him to take the ſame 'care for the future. By this means, the 'private meetings of the *Diſſenters*, which 'had been held by connivance, were 'broken up again,' and many of them impriſoned.

BUT this was contrary to the King's inclination *: Who was only for playing the *Diſſenters* againſt the Parliament for a ſum of money. When the houſe therefore was up, his Majeſty ordered ſome of the *Nonconformiſts* to be told, that he was deſirous to make them eaſy; and that if they would petition for relief they ſhould be favourably heard: Upon which an addreſs was drawn up and preſented to him. The King receiv'd them graciouſly, and promis'd to do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the eſtabliſhment. He wiſh'd there had been no bars

* *Neale*, Vol. IV. p. 420.

at

at all; ſignified that he was forced to comply for peace ſake, but that he would endeavour to remove them, tho' it was a work of difficulty. When he diſmiſſed them, he told them, *That he was againſt perſecution, and hoped e're long to be able to ſtand upon his own legs.* But, ſays Mr. *Neale*, his Majeſty's promiſes were always to be bought off by a ſum of money to ſupport his pleaſures.

Anno 1670.

THE Houſe of Commons were violently ſet upon perſecution; and the Court ſided therewith, to reduce the *Diſſenters* to the neceſſity of petitioning for a *general toleration.* They revived the *Conventicle* Act, and added two extraordinary clauſes thereto. The Court Biſhops were for the bill, but the moderate Clergy were againſt it. Biſhop *Wilkins* ſpoke againſt it in the houſe: And when the King deſired him in private to be quiet, he reply'd, that he thought it an ill thing, both in conſcience and policy; therefore as he was an *Engliſhman* and a Biſhop, he was bound to oppoſe it: And ſince by the laws and conſtitution of *England*, and by his Majeſty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor aſhamed to own his opinion in that matter.

Burnet, *p.* 272.

HOWEVER the bill paſſed both houſes; and received the Royal Aſſent, *Ap.* 11. 1670.

1670. 'It was, ſays Mr. *Neal* *, to the 'following effect: That if any perſon 'upwards of ſixteen years, ſhall be pre-'ſent at any Aſſembly, Conventicle or 'Meeting, under colour or pretence of 'any exerciſe of religion, in any other 'manner than according to the Liturgy 'and practice of the Church of *England*; 'where there are five perſons or more 'preſent, beſides thoſe of the ſaid houſe-'hold; in ſuch caſes the offender ſhall 'pay five ſhillings for the firſt offence, 'and ten ſhillings for the ſecond. And 'the preachers or teachers in any ſuch 'meetings, ſhall forfeit twenty pounds 'for the firſt, and forty for the ſecond 'offence. And laſtly, thoſe who know-'ingly ſuffer any ſuch Conventicles in 'their houſes, barns, yards, *&c.* ſhall 'forfeit twenty pounds. Any Juſtice of 'Peace on the oath of two witneſſes, or any 'other ſufficient proof, may record the of-'fence under his hand and ſeal, which 'record ſhall be taken in law for a full 'and perfect conviction, and ſhall be cer-'tified at the next Quarter-Seſſions. The 'fines above-mention'd may be levied, by 'diſtreſs and ſale of the offender's goods 'and chattels; and in caſe of the pover-'ty of ſuch offender, upon the goods 'and chattels of any other perſon or per-

* Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 426.

'ſons

'ſons that ſhall be convicted of having 'been preſent at the ſaid Conventicle, at 'the diſcretion of the Juſtice of Peace, 'ſo as the ſum to be levied on any one 'perſon, in caſe of the poverty of 'others, do not amount to above ten 'pounds for any one meeting: The Con-'ſtables, Headboroughs, *&c.* are to levy 'the ſame by warrant from the Juſtice, 'and to be divided, *one third for the uſe 'of the King, another third for the poor, 'and the other third to the informer or his 'aſſiſtants; regard being had to their di-'ligence and induſtry in diſcovering, diſ-'perſing, and puniſhing the ſaid Conven-'ticles.* The fines upon miniſters for 'preaching, are to be levied alſo by di-'ſtreſs; and in caſe of poverty, upon 'the goods and chattels of any other pre-'ſent; and the like upon the houſe where 'the Conventicle is held; and the money 'to be divided as above.

'AND it is further enacted; That the 'Juſtice or Juſtices of Peace, Conſtable, 'Headboroughs, *&c.* may by warrant, 'with what aid, force, and aſſiſtance 'they ſhall think neceſſary, break open, and 'enter into any houſe or place, where 'they ſhall be informed of the Conven-'ticle, and take the perſons ſo aſſembled 'into cuſtody. —— And the Lieutenants, 'or other commiſſioned officers of the 'militia, may get together ſuch force

'and

'and assistance as they think necessary 'to dissolve, dissipate, and disperse such 'unlawful meetings, and take the per-'sons into custody. —— That if any Jus-'tice of Peace refuse to do his duty in 'the execution of this Act, he shall for-'feit five pounds.

'AND be it farther enacted; That all 'clauses in this Act *shall be construed 'most largely, and beneficially for the sup-'pressing Conventicles, and for the justifi-'cation and encouragement of all persons 'to be employed in the execution thereof.* No '*warrant* or *mittimus* shall be made void, 'or reversed, for any default in the form: 'And if a person fly from one county 'or corporation to another, his goods 'and chattels shall be seizable wherever 'they are found. If the party offend-'ing be a wife co-habiting with her hus-'band, the fine shall be levied on the 'goods and chattels of the husband, pro-'vided the prosecution be within three 'months.

'THE wit of man, says Mr. *Neal*, 'could hardly invent any thing short of 'capital punishment, more cruel and in-'human. One would have thought such 'a merciful Prince as King *Charles* II. 'who had often declared against persecu-'tion, should not have consented to it; 'and that no Christian Bishop should 'have voted for it. Mens houses are to

'be

be plundered, their persons imprisoned, their goods and chattels carried away, and sold to those who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile set of *Informers*, and others, to live upon the labour and industry of their conscientious neighbours. Multitudes of these sordid creatures spent their profits in ill houses, and upon lewd women, and then went about streets again to hunt for further prey. The law is to be construed in the favour of these wretches, and the power to be lodged in the hand of every single Justice of Peace; who is to be fined five pounds if he refuses his warrant. Upon this many honest men, who would not be the instruments of such severities, left the bench, and would sit there no longer.

GREAT numbers were prosecuted on this Act *, and many industrious families reduced to poverty. Many ministers were confined in goals and close prisons; and warrants were issued out against them, and their hearers, to the amount of great sums of money. In the diocese of *Salisbury* the persecution was hottest, by the instigation of Bishop *Ward*; many hundreds being prosecuted with great industry, and driven from

* *Neal*, Vol. IV. p. 429.

their

'their families and trades. The Act was 'executed with ſuch ſeverity in *Starling*'s 'mayoralty, that many of the trading 'men in the city were removing with 'their effects to *Holland*, 'till the King 'put a ſtop to it. *Informers* were every 'where at work; and having crept into 'religious aſſemblies in diſguiſe, levied 'great ſums of money upon miniſters 'and people. Soldiers broke into the 'houſes of honeſt Farmers, under pre-'tence of ſearching for conventicles; and 'where ready money was wanting, they 'plundered their goods, drove away their 'cattle, and ſold them for half price: 'Theſe vile creatures were not only en-'couraged, but puſhed on vehemently 'by their *ſpiritual guides*. For this pur-'poſe Archbiſhop *Sheldon* ſent another 'circular letter to all the Biſhops of his 'province; and copies of this letter were 'ſent by the Archdeacons to the of-'ficers of the ſeveral pariſhes within 'their juriſdictions, earneſtly deſiring 'them to take a ſpecial care to perform 'whatſoever is therein required, and to 'give an account at the next viſitation. 'Many of the Biſhops choſe to lie be-'hind the curtain, and throw off the '*odium* from themſelves to the *Civil* '*Magiſtrate:* But ſome of the more zea-'lous could not forbear appearing in

'perſon; as Biſhop *Ward*, already men-
'tioned, and Biſhop *Gunning*, who of-
'ten diſturbed the *Meetings* in perſon.
'Once finding the doors ſhut, he or-
'dered the Conſtable to break them o-
'pen with a ſledge. Another time he
'ſat upon the bench at the Quarter-Seſ-
'ſions: Upon which the Chairman de-
'ſired his Lordſhip to give the *Charge*,
'which he refuſing, received a very
'handſome rebuke; it being hardly con-
'ſiſtent with one that is an Ambaſſador of
'the prince of peace, to ſet in judg-
'ment upon the conſciences of his poor
'countrymen and neighbours, in order
'to plunder and tear them to pieces.
'The Biſhop was ſo zealous in the cauſe,
'that he ſunk his character by giving
'a publick challenge to the *Preſbyterians*,
'*Independants*, *Anabaptiſts* and *Quakers*;
'and appointed three days for the diſ-
'putation. On the firſt of which his
'Lordſhip went into the pulpit in the
'Church, where was a conſiderable con-
'gregation, and charged the former with
'ſedition and rebellion out of their books,
'but would hear no reply. When the
'day came to diſpute with the *Quakers*,
'they ſummoned their friends; and when
'the Biſhop railed, they paid him in his
'own coin, and followed him to his

'very

'very houſe, with repeated cries, the 'Hireling fleeth.

MR. *Vavaſor Powell*, was in theſe times greatly harraſſed by his perſecutors. The *High Sheriff* of the county of *Montgomery*, for his refuſing to give over preaching, according to his prohibition, had wrote to Secretary *Morrice*, and accuſed him of *Sedition*, *Rebellion* and *Treaſon*. And before he received a return, ſo willing was he to be doing, that he directed a warrant to apprehend him, and ſo he became a *Priſoner*, and continued ſuch ſeveral months; all ordinary ways of relief by law allowed in ſuch caſes, being wholly obſtructed. Vavaſor Powell *impriſoned in* Wales.

WHEN the Seſſions came on, after much importunity, Mr. *Powell* was called, but inſtead of being releaſed, or having juſt cauſe rendered why he ſhould be continued in priſon, the oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* were tendered to him; and upon his refuſal of taking thoſe oaths, ſo arbitrarily impoſed, he was again committed to *Priſon*, the Judge refuſing to take any bail for him till the next Seſſions.

BUT he had not long continued there, when upon a falſe information, Mr. *Wickham*, a meſſenger of the Council, was ſent down with a *warrant* to bring him before the King and Council. From whence *Is brought before the King and Council, and ſent to the* Fleet-Priſon.

whence he was ſent to the *Fleet-Priſon*; where he was detained almoſt two years; and for twelve months in ſo cloſe a confinement, that he was not ſuffered to go out of his chamber. Which, together with the offenſive ſmell of a dunghill under his window, did ſo much impair his health, that he never after perfectly recovered it.

Is remov'd to South-Sea Caſtle.

FROM the *Fleet* in 1662, he was ſuddenly removed to *South-Sea Caſtle* near *Portſmouth*, where he continued about five years; and upon the removal of Chancellor *Hide*, he and many others ſued for an *Habeas Corpus*, and ſo at length he obtained his liberty.

THIS ſcarcely laſted ten months. For one *George Jones*, the Parſon of *Merthur* in *Glamorganſhire*, a man noted for whoredom, drunkenneſs, cheating, and putting away his wife, made complaint, and falſe information againſt him, before two deputy *Lieutenants*; and ſwore, that Mr. *Powell*, and the congregation to which he preached, were met near two miles from *Cardiff*, and many of them armed; both which were falſe. Yet upon this information, or depoſition, a *warrant* was granted againſt him; and he was thereupon apprehended and impriſoned again at *Cardiff*; and at a general meeting of the deputy *Lieutenants* at *Cowbridge*, on the 17th of *October*, he was exa-

Is impriſon'd again in Wales.

examined before them, by an *Officer* of the *Biſhop*'s *Court*; the contents of which you may find in his *Life*, too long to be inſerted here.

UPON the eighth of *November*, 1668, and the thirteenth of *January* following, he was convened before the *Juſtices*, and the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* tendered to him. Much *pro* and *con*, as may be ſeen in his *Life*, was ſpent upon this ſubject. In concluſion, Mr. *Powell* asked, whether they would be pleaſed to take ſufficient bail till the next Seſſions? 'The *Juſtices* were ſilent. But the *Jaylor* made anſwer publickly, No. Says 'Mr. *Powell*, Sir, are you one of the 'Judges of the Court, that your No 'ſhould ſtand? But the Juſtices did not 'give him the leaſt check for his ſaw-'cineſs. Then *P.* ſaid further; Gen-'tlemen, I have been near eight years a '*Priſoner*, and in thirteen *Priſons*, and 'yet in all theſe, I have not received 'ſo much incivility as from this man, 'Mr. *Jaylor*; and therefore I deſire li-'berty to take a private chamber in the 'town, giving ſecurity for my true im-'priſonment. But to this the *Juſtices* 'returned no anſwer; but commanded 'the *Jaylor* to take the *Priſoner* away, 'which was done accordingly, and re-

* Powell's Life, *p.* 187, *&c.*

'turned to Priſon again. About three 'months after this, a friend in *London* got 'a *Habeas Corpus*, to remove him to the '*Common Pleas* bar; which the *Sheriff* 'refuſed to obey. Then came an *Alias*, 'under penalty of 100 *l.* upon which 'they ſent him up; but would not let 'him know of his journey before hand. 'But about eight o'clock one night, the '*Under-Sheriff* came to give him notice 'to be gone in half an hour, and ſo 'took him with a guard, eight miles 'that night, being the ſixteenth of the 'eighth month 1669; and brought him 'to *Weſtminſter* to the *Common Pleas* bar 'the twenty ſecond of the ſame; where, 'upon the examination of the return, it 'was found illegal. But *S. M.* their 'Council, pleaded he had not time to 'view it, and deſired time till next day, 'which the Judges granted.

Is remov'd to the Common Pleas *bar* Weſtminſter.

'THEREUPON Mr. *P.* moved the 'Court to take bail then, and diſcharge 'his guard; which had been granted, 'but that *S. M.* ſaid, No, my Lord, then 'he will go preach. To which the *Priſoner* replied, that it was as lawful for 'him to preach, as for him to talk 'there at the bar.

'THE next day he was brought in- 'to the Court again; and the return 'was again argued, the *Priſoner* having 'the liberty to open his caſe himſelf.

'And

'And tho' the return was by all the 'Judges judged falſe and and illegal; 'yet was Mr. *Powell* committed to the *Fleet Priſon* by the Court; where he 'remained a Priſoner from the twenty-'fourth of the third month, 1669, 'till 'he was diſcharged by death, the twenty-'ſeventh of the eight month, 1670.

A diſputation between the Baptiſts *and* Quakers.

IT was about this time, that ſome bickerings happened between ſome of the *Baptiſts*, and ſome of the people called *Quakers*, in or about *High Wicomb* in *Buckinghamſhire*; occaſioned by ſomething a *Baptiſt* preacher had ſaid from the pulpit, againſt the *Quakers* doctrines, but eſpecially ſomething that *William Penn* had written. It came at length to this iſſue, that a publick diſputa was to be holden at *Wicomb*, between *Jer. Ives*, who eſpouſed his brother's Cauſe, and *William Penn*.

Ives argued againſt *the light within*, and *univerſal grace conferred by God on all men*. At laſt, after a long diſputation, when neither ſide could agree with the other, *Ives* ſtept down and departed, with a purpoſe to have broken up the Aſſembly: But the *Quakers* ſtaid and harangued the people. Which Mr. *Ives* underſtanding, came in again, and expreſſed his diſlike at the proceedure; as well he might be diſpleaſed at the de-

taining of the people in order to prejudice them to their ſide.

HOWEVER the *Quakers* remaining thus maſters of the field of battle, triumphed; and *Thomas Ellwood* ſent a brief account of their victory to his friend *Iſaac Pennington* (by his Son and Servant who returned home, tho' it was late that evening) in the following diſtich: *

'*Prævaluit veritas*; *inimici terga dedere*:
'*Nos ſumus in tuto*; *laus tribuenda Deo.*

Which he thus engliſhes:

'Truth hath prevail'd, the enemies did fly;
'We are in ſafety; praiſe to God on high.

BUT he had no ſuch occaſion to triumph at *Jeremy Ives*'s quitting the diſputation, ſince it was time by what I can find, to give it over; for it was very late in the evening before Eſq; *Pennington*'s ſon and ſervant ſet out homewards.

'BUT both they [*Baptiſts*] and we '(*Quakers*) ſaith *Ellwood*, had quickly 'other work found us: It ſoon became 'a ſtormy time; the clouds had been 'long gathering, and threatened a tem-'peſt; the parliament had ſat ſome-'time before, and hatched that unaccoun-

* Ellwood's Life, *p.* 273.

'table

'table law, which was called the *con-*
'*venticle Act*: If that may be allowed
'to be called a law, by whomſoever
'made, which was ſo directly contrary
'to the fundamental laws of *England*,
'to common juſtice, equity and right
'reaſon, as this manifeſtly was. For,

'1. IT brake down, and overrun the
'bounds and banks, antiently ſet for the
'defence and ſecurity of *Engliſhmen*'s
'lives, liberties and properties, *viz. Trial*
'*by Juries*: Inſtead thereof, directing
'and authorizing Juſtices of the Peace,
'and that too, privately, out of *Seſſions*,
'to convict, fine, and by their warrants
'diſtrein upon offenders againſt it, di-
'rectly contrary to the *great charter*.

'2. BY that Act, the *Informers*, who
'ſwear for their own advantage, as be-
'ing thereby entitled to a third part
'of the fines, were many times conceal-
'ed, driving on an underhand private
'trade; ſo that men might be, and
'often were, convicted and fined without
'having any notice or knowledge of it,
''till the Officers came and took away
'their goods; nor even then could they
'tell by whoſe evidence they were con-
'victed: Than which, what could be
'more oppoſite to common juſtice?
'which requires, that every man ſhould
'be openly charged, and have his ac-
'cuſer face to face; that he might both

'anſwer

'answer for himself, before he be convicted, and object to the validity of the evidence given against him.

'3. By that Act, the innocent were punished for the offences of the guilty. If the wife or child was convicted of having been at one of those assemblies, which by that Act was adjudged unlawful, the fine was levied on the goods of the husband or father of such wife or child; though he was neither present at such an assembly, nor was of the same religious persuasion that they were of; but perhaps an enemy to it.

'4. It was left to the arbitrary pleasure of the Justices, to lay half the fine for the house or ground where such assembly was holden, and half the fine for a pretended unknown preacher; and the whole fines of such, and so many of the meeters as they should account poor, upon any other or others of the people who were present at the same meeting, not exceeding a certain limited sum, without any regard to equity or reason; and, yet this, such blindness doth the spirit of persecution bring on men, otherwise sharp-sighted enough, that this unlawful, unjust, unequal, unreasonable, and unrighteous law took place in almost all places, and was vi-

'gorously

'gorously profecuted againſt the meet-
'ings of *Diſſenters* in general.'

WHEN the Biſhops had obtained this law, they and ſome others of the Clergy of all ranks, and ſome others too over-officious perſons, encouraged all they could *Informers*, and preferred to eccleſiaſtical offices ſuch as they thought would be moſt obſequious and active this way. Yet it took not alike every where; but ſome were forwarder in the work than others, according as the *Agents* employ'd therein had been prediſpoſed thereto.

FOR in ſome parts of the nation, ſays *Ellwood*, care had been timely taken by ſome, not of the loweſt rank, to chuſe out ſome particular perſons, men of ſharp wit, cloſe countenances, pliant tempers, and deep diſſimulation, and ſend them forth among the *Sectaries*, ſo called, with inſtructions to thruſt themſelves into all ſocieties, conform to all, or any ſort of religious profeſſions —In a word, to be all things to all, not that they might win ſome, but that they might, if poſſible, ruin all, at leaſt many. The drift of this deſign was, that by this means, they who employ'd them, might get a full account of the number of diſſenting meetings in each county, when they were kept, what number of perſons frequented them, and of what ranks, who

P. 276.

were

were persons of estates, and where they lived, that they might know where afterwards to cast their nets with advantage. He who was sent on this errand in the county of *Bucks*, adventured to thrust himself on a *Quaker*, as one of their number. But being suspected by him, and thereon dismissed unentertained, he betook himself to an inn, and there getting a little disordered in liquor, he discovered what he was, and that he was sent forth by Dr. *Mew*, then Vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, on the design before related, and under the protection of Justice *Morton*; a warrant under whose hand and seal he there produced.

SENSIBLE of his error too late, when sleep had restored him to some degree of sense, and vexed at the successlessness of his attempt on the *Quakers*, he left that place, and crossing the country, cast himself among the *Baptists*, at a meeting they held in a private place, of which the over easy credulity of some who went among them (when he had craftily insinuated himself into their favour) gave him notice. The entertainment he met amongst them deserved a better return than he made them; for having smoothly wrought himself into their good opinion, and cunningly drawn some of them into an unwary freedom, and openness of conversation with him,

upon

upon the unpleaſing ſubject of the ſeverity of the times, he moſt villanouſly impeached one of them whoſe name was —— *Headach*, a man well reputed amongſt his neighbours, of having ſpoken *treaſonable words*, and thereby brought the man in danger of loſing both his eſtate and life, had not a ſeaſonable diſcovery of his abominable practices elſewhere (imprinting terrour, the effect of guilt, upon his mind) cauſed him to fly both out of the *Court* and *Country*, at the very inſtant of time, when the honeſt man ſtood at the bar, to be arraigned upon his falſe accuſation: For he on the laying this falſe charge on the *Baptiſts*, was forced to lay off his *vizor*. And now the better to act, he reſolved to get a partner, which he ſoon after did, one who was not long before releaſed out of *Ailsbury* goal, where he had been put for cow-ſtealing.

THE country-people not knowing their names, called the one, the *Trepan*, the other the *Informer*; tho' afterwards they came to know, that the one was named *John Poulter*, a butcher of *Salisbury*'s ſon, an egregiouſly wicked fellow; and that the *Informer* was called *Lacy* of *Risborough*.

THESE two reſolved to make the firſt onſet on a *Quakers* meeting, in the pariſh of *St. Giles Chalfont*, in the county

ty of *Bucks*: But wanting a place to lurk in, they were obliged to apply to Parſon *Philips*. Very ready, able, and willing to aſſiſt them, he recommended them to one *Anne Dell*, once his pariſhioner, but ſince removed to a farm called *Whites*, in the pariſh of *Beaconſfield*, who readily received them, and what ſhe had was at their command. She had two ſons; the youngeſt of them *John Dell*, hoping to enrich himſelf with the ſpoil of their honeſt neighbours, liſted himſelf with his mother's new-gueſts, as their guide, who were too much ſtrangers to know the names of any perſons they were to inform againſt.

ON *July* twenty fourth they came to the *Quakers* meeting; but *Poulter* did not ſtay in the country long after; for he was diſcovered to have *chriſtened a Cat*, as the term is, by the name of *Catherine Catherina*, in deriſion of the *Queen*, and of feloniouſly taking certain goods from one of *Brainford*, whom alſo he had cheated of money. Theſe things forced him to leave the country. And thus *Headach* was preſerved, and the *Quakers* delivered at that time.

THO' it pleaſed God to put a ſtop, in a great meaſure, to the perſecution in this county, yet it was carried on with very great ſeverity and rigour in other parts both of the city and country: The worſt of

of men, for the moſt part, being ſet up for *Informers*, the worſt of Magiſtrates encouraging and abetting them; and the worſt of Prieſts, who firſt began to blow the fire, now ſeeing how it ſpread, clapping their hands and hallooing them on to this evil work.

THE people thus ſet on by the encouragement of Magiſtrates and wicked Prieſts, their enmity roſe to ſuch a pitch againſt the *Baptiſts*, that they denied the benefit of the common burying places. Yea, ſo inhuman, ſays Mr. *Grantham*, hath been the uſage of ſome, that they have been taken out of their graves, drawn upon a ſledge to their own gates, and there left unburied. 'Thus, ſays he, did the 'inhabitants of *Croft* in the county of '*Lincoln*, deal by one *Robert Shalder*, a 'baptized believer, in the year 1666, to 'the infamy of the vile doers of that cruel 'act; whilſt this epitaph lives, to keep 'in memory their cruel action:

'Sleep, pious *Shalder*, ſleep in thy
'ſequeſtred grave,
'Chriſt's faith thou well didſt keep,
'maugre the fierceſt wave
'Which Satan's ſtorms could raiſe againſt
'thy faith, and now
'In vain he findeth ways, his malice
'ſtill to ſhew.

'Thy

Chriſtianiſmus Primitivus, *Lib.* 3. *c.* 10.

'Thy Saviour had no grave, but what
'a friend did lend;
'Enough, if the ſervant have like fa-
'vour at the end.
'And now thy faith divine, I'll pin
'upon thy herſe,
'It bright, tho' brief doth ſhine; *Heb.*
'vi. 1, 2, verſe.

Robert Shalder *taken out of the grave.*

THIS Mr. *Shalder* had ſuffered much by impriſonment for his zeal towards God, and dying ſoon after his releaſe from priſon, was interred in the common burying-ground amongſt his anceſtors. The ſame day that he was buried, certain of the inhabitants of *Croft* in the county of *Lincoln*, opened his grave, took him from thence, and dragged him upon a ſledge to his own gates, and left him there; upon which ſome verſes were written, and placed upon the grave, entitled, *The Dead Man's Complaint*, deſigned to check the envy of the Spiritual Court, who thus diſgraced the dead. Part of which ran as follows:

Your ſad preſenting men alive and dead,
What text will warrant, where can it be
read?
That *Chriſt* his *Church*, did ever thus pro-
ceed
'Gainſt any man. Oh! then behold your
dead.

Whilſt

Whilſt you pretend to chriſtianity,
Shew that you have no true humanity:
Let *Croft* beware, if ſhe behave her thus,
Her actions prove not ſadly ominous;
Of ſome impending evils (at the leaſt
Such as my corps being us'd worſe than a beaſt:)
On them or theirs; for as the Lord is juſt,
He'll plead his ſervants cauſe, tho' in the duſt.
They lie without regard from men, yet he
Accounts they touch the apple of his eye,
That toucheth his, nor ſhall it long time be,
E're I your face before his face ſhall ſee,
And there implead you at his awful bar,
For that which you have done. Oh! then prepare,
For death tends on you, as he did on me,
And you muſt to the ſame mortality.

THE chief actors in this inhumanity, ſo prodigiouſly rude and unnatural, did not long ſurvive it. For one of them died ſuddenly, and the other languiſhed for ſome time; being greatly terrified with the remembrance of what he had done to the dead.

R. Wright *conforms to the eſtabliſhed Church.*

IT was about this time that Mr. *Robert Wright* conformed to the Church of *England*. He had been a *Baptiſt* preacher, but was excluded for his irregular life and converſation. He continued in his evil courſe of life ſome years, and having

ing ſpent his eſtate, in the end made application to the then Biſhop of *Lincoln* for ſome benefice, promiſing to renounce his principles of baptiſm, and preach againſt the *Baptiſts*. The Biſhop accepted his offer, and he was accordingly admitted into their miniſtry, and preached up the Baptiſm of infants in oppoſition to that of believers. This did not a little affect the generality of the Church people, who from the impetuous diſcourſes and daring pretences of this ſuppos'd champion, expected that moſt, if not all the miniſters of the baptized churches would be eaſily overcome. The *Baptiſts* in order to vindicate themſelves, did in the open Aſſize time, draw, and poſt up four papers, containing a challenge or proteſtation againſt the ſaid Mr. *Wright*, as follows:

Manuſcript *penes me.*

'*To the citizens and inhabitants of the city and county of* Lincoln, *ſalutation.*

'FORASMUCH as you have heard, that one *Robert Wright*, once a member of the churches reproachfully call'd *Anabaptiſts*, hath lately recanted his principles; in token whereof he hath preached publickly in the city of *Lincoln*, by allowance of the Biſhop or Clergy of the ſame, to the great reproach

'proach of the truth, touching the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins: Know therefore, that if the ſaid *Robert Wright* will accept of a friendly conference in the place where he preached, and ſhall give convenient and publick notice of the ſame, he ſhall find ſome, if God permit, to maintain the doctrine and baptiſm of repentance to be from heaven, and the ſprinkling and croſſing of Infants to be man's tradition.

'*The 11th day of the 1ſt month (Vulg.)* 'March, 1670.

'Written by *Tho. Grantham.*

'Poſted by *Wm. Pann.*

Two of theſe papers which were ſet above the hill were taken down in the morning, and, as was ſuppoſed, carried to the Biſhop and the Judge; the other two below the hill, were read by many, and in the afternoon taken down by the Clergy, who threatened that they who wrote them ſhould anſwer for it before the council-table. However, nothing more was done, but the drawing up an angry ill-natured paper, which was ſent to the *Baptiſts* by Mr. *William Silverton*, the Biſhop's Chaplain, dated from *Scroaby*, *Aug.* 6. 1669: By which it appeared, how much he was chafed at the *Baptiſts*

proceedings; nor was the Biſhop himſelf a little moved upon the ſame account, as was then well known: Mr. *Grantham*, to check the confidence of Mr. *Silverton*, drew up ſome counter poſitions and concluded his anſwer thus:

'FINALLY, Whereas Mr. *Silverton* ſaith, he will defend his propoſitions; it is hereby certified, that if he will either publiſh any thing upon the laſt two propoſals, or diſpute of them peaceably in a free audience, ſome of thoſe whom he in the height of his wit ſtiles, *erroneous antick Baptiſts*, are reſolved in the ſtrength of Chriſt, to hear and try that which he ſhall declare, time and place being convenient.

'*Thomas Grantham.*

THIS paper was delivered to Mr. *Silverton* by *William Pann*; but Mr. *Silverton* neither thought fit to enter into the controverſy by diſputation, nor to make any reply by writing, and ſo his great boaſting ended in a ſhameful ſilence.

Perſecutions in Suſſex.

THIS year was publiſhed a *Narrative of the late proceedings of ſome Juſtices and others, pretending to put in execution the late act againſt Conventicles; againſt ſeveral peaceable people in and about the town of*

of Lewes *in* Suſſex, *only for their being quietly met to worſhip God: Together with a brief account of the like proceedings againſt ſome at* Brighthelmſtone, *and others at* Chillington *in the ſame county.*

THE Author of this Narrative begins with a ſhort epiſtle thus:

READER,

'THOU art here preſented with an account of ſome proceedings, 'pretended to be grounded upon the late 'Act againſt *Conventicles*. Of the Act 'itſelf I ſay nothing at all; nor do I 'call theſe proceedings pretended to be 'grounded thereon, either arbitrary or 'illegal. Read, and be judge thyſelf: 'Only be ſure of this; that thou haſt 'a *faithful narrative*. What you find 'therein, relating to the conviction of 'theſe perſons, was reported by ſome '*Officers* then preſent, or dropt from the '*Informers* themſelves: And the witneſs 'of an enemy (we uſe to ſay) is a dou-'ble teſtimony.

'THAT, of the unreaſonableneſs of the 'diſtreſs, &c. will (if occaſion require) 'be atteſted by many, who were both 'eye and ear witneſſes; *for theſe things 'were not done in a corner*. Many ma-'terial circumſtances are herein, for bre-'vity ſake, omitted; none but what are

upon due examination found true inſerted. The deſign of this *Narrative* is not to imbitter the ſpirits of any againſt *lawful ſuperiors*. And I dare be ſo charitable as to judge, that ſuch a deſign would be as contrary to theſe *ſufferers* themſelves, being men that are peaceable, and faithful in the land. In matters of the kingdom, malice itſelf can find nothing wherewith to accuſe them; only in this matter of their God. And when they ſuffered thus the ſpoiling of their goods, they endured it with patience and joyfulneſs. But my end in this relation, is for the general information of all; that thoſe who are fellow ſufferers with them in this cauſe, may not think ſtrange of theſe fiery trials; knowing that the ſame are accompliſhed in their brethren that are in the world; who are with them filling up that which is behind of the ſufferings of *Chriſt*. Beſides, hereby theſe harſh proceedings againſt a *peaceable people*, may come to the ear of ſome in authority, who may, out of pity to the diſtreſſed, and juſtice to their righteous cauſe, redreſs theſe grievances. And who knows, but that, (as *Mordecai* ſaid of *Eſther*) ſome of them are come to theſe places of truſt for ſuch a time as this? Wiſhing (whoever thou art that readeſt theſe lines) that thou mayeſt never

'never meet with the like ſeverity from
'any, that theſe have done from ſome;
'I refer thee to the *Narrative* itſelf,
'which immediately enſueth:

'ON the twenty-ninth of *May*, 1670.
'being the Lord's-day, ſays the *Author*,
'[whom I take to be Mr. *Jerem. Ives*]
'ſome chriſtians in and about *Lewes*,
'in the county of *Suſſex*, (to the num-
'ber of 500, ſay their adverſaries) were
'met together to hear the word of God,
'and that they might, if poſſible, avoid
'exaſperating their enemies on one hand,
'and provide for their own ſecurity on
'the other, the meeting was appointed at
'three a-clock afternoon (by reaſon of the
'peoples being at the publick) an hour
'of the greateſt privacy. People were
'appointed to go to a houſe, where uſu-
'ally they met, within a mile of *Lewes*;
'but from thence were directed to a pri-
'vate by-lane, within a quarter of a mile
'of the houſe. This may be enough to
'take of that imputation of contempt
'of authority, ſo frequently caſt upon
'them by ſome; and that of raſhneſs
'as frequently objected by others.

THERE were two perſons, who ſeeing ſome people go that way, followed them to the place of meeting, and became *Informers*. Upon which Sir *Thomas Nutt*, a violent perſecutor, and three other Juſtices, whom he had drawn into a com-

Relf *and* Goring.

Sir. Tho. Nutt, *a violent perſecutor.*

pliance with him, convicts the *Minister* and above forty of the hearers, without hearing what they had to plead in their own defence.

Many fin'd for being at a meeting.

THE hearers were fined 5*s.* a piece, and the minister 20*l.* The minister's fine was laid upon five of the hearers; so that *Walter Brett* and *Thomas Barnard* were fined each 6*l.* 5*s.* *Richard White* 3*l.* 15*s.* *Thomas Ridge* 1*l.* 10*s.* and the rest in smaller fines; the lowest 5*s.* Warrants were issued out under the hands of the Justices for recovery of the said fines by distress and sale of goods, and directed to the Constable of the hundred, the Church-wardens and Overseers of the parish. And, says the Author of the Narrative, 'after one of the warrants, P. 3. 'and beneath the hands and seals of the 'Justices, was written as a postcript some-'what to this purpose, *That all other 'officers whatever were required, within 'their liberties, to assist the said officers in 'making the distress.*

Warrant granted to make distress.

'SIR *Thomas Nutt* sends out these 'warrants by his Clerks, who carrying 'them to the Headborough of *Ring-'mire*, told him, that Sir *Thomas* had 'sent him those warrants, and that if 'he knew any others that had been at 'the meeting, he must put in their names, 'and levy 5*s.* a piece of them. The 'Headborough telling him he was at 'church,

'church, and so knew not who was at 'the meeting: the other reply'd, that if he 'heard of any that were there, he should 'put them in.

'THE constable declared to one of 'the Justices, that he would rather for-'feit his 5 l. than act. The Justice 'told him he was only to go with 'them, and see the peace kept; it was 'the others that were to distrain: Which 'he did accordingly, but would not med-'dle in the distress.

ON the first of *June* they began to make their distresses, and took from *John Prior* (who was fined 10 s. for himself and his wife) four cheeses: He only told them, *he never sold any thing for so great advantage, for this would bring him in an hundred fold.* Within a few days after, he was by warrant brought before Sir *Thomas*, for bidding *Goring* the informer, repent of being such a *Judas*, and warning him of the judgment to come. But Sir *Thomas* only obliged him to pay 2 s. for the warrant. On the same day they made distress upon *Thomas Ridge*, being fined 30 s. and took as many goods from his shop as amounted to 50 s. He peaceably submitted, only assuring them, *he parted as willingly with them as with any goods he ever sold.* They would have deposited their spoil at the sign of the *Cats* in the *Cliff*,

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Distress made by J. Prior.

And on T. Ridge.

Cliff, but the maſter of the houſe, tho' a churchman, ſaid he would let no ſuch goods come within his doors; which made them take up quarters in another place.

On Rich. White*and* ON the ſeventeenth of *June*, at the town of *Lewes*, they diſtrained from *Rich. White* as many braſs kettles, with a ſtill, which were worth 10 *l.* 13 *s.* tho' his fine was but 3 *l.* 15 *s.* From *Richard Thomas*, a butcher, they took his weights for 5 *s.* From *Edward Henly*, a ſhoemaker, they took five pair of ſhoes; his fine was 5 *s.* From *Samuel Cruttenden*, a haberdaſher, they took three hats, worth 15 *s.* for 5 *s.* From *Thomas Elphick*, a ſhoemaker, three pair of ſhoes, worth 9 *s.* for 5 *s.* From *Richard Bennet*, a taylor, fined 10 *s.* they plunder'd his kitchen; taking goods of ſeveral ſorts. From *Edward Whiskets*, a victualler, fined 5 *s.* they took goods to a conſiderable value. From *Nicholas Grisbrooks*, a blackſmith, they took, amongſt other things, part of a flitch of bacon.

Richard Thomas,

Edward Henly,

Samuel Cruttenden,

Thomas Elphick,

Richard Bennet,

Edward Whiskets,

N. Grisbrooks,

J. Tabret, *June* the twentieth, *John Tabret* of the *Cliff*, fined 55 *s.* they took from him a cow. She not liking her new maſters, at night returned home, but they ſoon fetch'd her back again.

William Humphry, *June* the twenty firſt, they viſit *Lewes* again, and took from *William Humphry*, a barber, a looking-glaſs of a conſiderable value, with other things belonging to his

his employment. Entering the houſe of *Benjamin Wood*, a maſon, they took the ſheets from the bed, and four of the good woman's new ſhifts, but ſhe being unwilling to part with them, redeemed them by paying the 5 *s.* for which they diſtrained. They plundered the ſhop of *John Knapp*, a barber, fined 5 *s.* He deſired them, amongſt the reſt, to take Mr. *Dodd*'s ſayings hanging by; but, ſays the *Author*, them they refuſe, knowing, belike, that they propheſied no good to them. From *Henry Owden*'s, a carpenter, fined 5 *s.* they took a good muſket and a jack, worth 10 *s.* From *Thomas Tourle*, a butcher, fined 5 *s.* they took his horſe. And from *Richard Mantle* they took another, for the like fine. They took from *Walter Brett*, a grocer, fined 6 *l.* 5 *s.* two barrels of ſugar, which coſt him above 15 *l.*

Benjamin Wood,

J. Knapp,

Henry Owden,

T. Tourle,

R. Mantle,

Walter Brett.

'Two days after this, ſays the *Author*, 'being the twenty third of *June*, theſe 'mauling officers rally their forces, conſiſting of *Relph* the *informer*, a brother 'of *Goring*'s the *informer*, and another, 'who encouraged by Sir *Thomas Nutt*, 'newly entered on that employment. 'To which the Conſtable and Head-'borough of that hundred, within which '*Northeaſe* farm in the pariſh of *Rad-'mill* lies, being added, they intend 'to make a diſtreſs there for 11 *l.* 10 *s.*

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'being

'being the fines impoſed on *Thomas* and
'*Richard Barnard* of *Lewes*. The diſ-
'treſſors pretended, that theſe brothers
'were with their mother partners in the
'ſtock, and the goods by partnerſhip
'diſtrainable. It was offered to be made
'appear, that *Thomas*, upon whom 6 *l.* 5 *s.*
'of the fine was laid, had no propriety
'in the ſtock for above three years paſt.
'But it ſeems they think it a good rea-
'ſon, that his mother (though not at
'the meeting) ſhould pay for him, as
'that he ſhould pay for others. Beſides,
'when theſe things were queſtioned to
'Sir *Thomas Nutt*, he bid them diſtrain
'however: For, ſaid he, come the
'worſt, they can but appeal to us. The
'diſtreſſors comfort themſelves alſo with
'this, that how illegally ſoever they act,
'perſons can but appeal to the ſeſſions,
'and they have four of the Juſtices
'hands to their warrant already. Sir
'*Thomas* told one whilſt this diſtreſs was
'levying, that if he pleaſed he would
'levy their fines upon him, and how
'would he help himſelf, though the par-
'ty were not at the meeting.

'BEFORE theſe blades could make up
'their full company, the oxen, which
'*Buckland* had eſpecially threatned, were
'by the ſervants belonging to the farm
'locked up. When the Conſtable came,
'*Buckland* commands him to break the

'door.

'door. The Conſtable demanded of him 'a warrant to empower him to do it. 'Many ſore ſtrains *Buckland* himſelf gave 'the door, but finding himſelf prevented 'here, in a fume he ſteers his courſe ano-'ther way, threatning that he would take 'the whole herd of about twenty cows; 'upon which the dairy-maid is ſaid to tell 'him, *that then ſhe believed they would 'have ſtore of ſillibubs, having gotten ſo 'much ſugar from Mr.* Brett. The bars 'where the cows were, being lockt, the 'Conſtable durſt not break them open, 'at leaſt not without a warrant. *Buck-'land* took his old warrant out of his 'pocket, and purpoſely miſreading it, 'would have made the Conſtable believe, 'that he was included in the warrant; 'and producing the act (at the rate he 'read it) made as if that clauſe, empow-'ering the breaking open of a houſe 'in order to the taking of a meeting, 'had empowered him to break open 'upon a diſtreſs. Moreover *Buckland* of-'fered him his word, if not his bond, 'to bear him harmleſs; but his word and 'bond were both of like value in the Con-'ſtable's account; who willing to have 'better ſecurity for what he did, imme-'diately went to the Juſtices concerned 'in the conviction, deſiring a ſpecial war-'rant to break open if he muſt do it. 'Two of them civilly told him they

'ſhould

'should give out no other warrant. Sir *Thomas Nutt* could say more than both the others; he tells him, that the Constables at *Lewes* had broke open doors, and so might he as well: A further warrant he denied him, but threatned immediately to fine him if he did not assist them in the distress.

'THEY were from eight in the morning till nigh two in the afternoon, before they made their distress.

'*Buckland* sent to *Lewes*, being about two miles, to inform Sir *Thomas Nutt*, that there was such a company there, that he dare hardly to do his office. Upon which Sir *Thomas* was heard to say, that he would make a riot of it, and that it should cost the two *Barnards* an 100*l.* a man. It seems there were present most of the servants, few else; and these only to be witnesses of what was done; the best armed amongst them had only an ox-goad, which was he that drove the oxen. It seems *Buckland* esteemed him a second *Shamgar*, &c.

Distress on Tho. *and* Richard Barnard.

'THE Constable returns in great perplexity; if he breaks the door he lays himself open to an action from the owners; if he do not, Sir *Thomas* threatens that he shall be fined; who in such cases useth not to be worse then his word. The Constable chose rather, though importunately desired by *Buckland* to break

'open

'open the bars for cows, than the barn 'for oxen. They took ſix cows, three 'of which, indifferently ſold, would more 'than countervail their fines. One of 'the parties diſtrained told them, he won-'dred that men skilled in the worth of 'cattle, ſhould make ſuch an unreaſon-'able diſtreſs. *Buckland* replied, but we 'take one for your peremptorineſs, and 'another for our pains. Some of their 'own gang report, that the diſtrainers 'will get above 10 *l.* apeice by the bar-'gain —— There was ſeverally by both 'the perſons diſtrained demands made of 'a copy of the warrant, which the other 'refuſed to give them. They then de-'manded the ſight of it, which was 'likewiſe denied.

'THE ſix kine aforeſaid, ſays the '*Author*, were driven to *Buckland*'s, who 'had ſome land he hired, that wanted 'ſtock. The next Saturday ſevennight, 'being the ſecond of *July*, theſe with 'the cow taken from *John Tabret*, were 'brought to *Lewes* market, and placed 'juſt before Sir *Thomas Nutt*'s door. It 'being quickly known upon what account 'they were taken, they had many ſpecta-'tors, but few chapmen; probably they 'had lain in their hands, but that there 'being at Sir *Thomas Nutt*'s, an own bro-'ther of his, he becomes the purchaſer, 'buyeth the ſeven cows, for what is not cer-

'tainly

certainly known, for 14 *l.* 5 *s.* say they that report the highest, though they were not ill worth 27 *l.* Having no ground of his own, he firſt ſends them, and then ſelleth them to one that is tenant to Sir *Thomas*.

'IT was ſtranged by ſome, why Sir *Thomas* ſhould, beyond others, beſtir himſelf to procure them diſtrained. But now that riddle may be eaſily read; his brother is to have the firſt purchaſe of them, and his tenant the ſecond. The ſame day, ſale was cry'd in the market, to be held at the *Star* in *Lewes*, the *Monday*, *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday* following, for the reſt of the goods, where they ſold cheap, I cannot ſay good pennyworths.

'THE ſame day with that at *Lewes*, there was a meeting at the town of *Brighthelmſtone*, ſome ſix miles off. To take away all occaſion of offence, they did leſſen their number, and alter their place of meeting; but were beſet by Captain *Tetterſol*, Conſtable of the place, and his gang: Finding the door ſhut, that they could not enter, they ſurrounded the houſe, that none of the meeters might come out. Thus they kept them priſoners till they ſent to *Lewes*, to Sir *Thomas Nutt* for a warrant to break open the door. When the warrant came, entrance was given; they find no miniſter, nor

'nor were the people, when they came 'in, about any religious exercise. They 'pretended they had heard the sound of 'a voice, which they please to say is 'preaching. These men going to Sir *Thomas Nutt*, and making some deposition 'upon oath, a warrant is issued out to 'bring the meeters before him and some 'other Justices.

'WHEN they came, the business was 'to pump something by way of confession out of them; in which, if they 'would be ingenuous, a promise is made 'that they should set their own fines; 'but these, keeping their own counsel, 'the Justices not being able to convict 'them by the parties confession, are 'forced to do it, by that notorious evidence before specified. They fine *William Beard*, master of the house, where the meeting was, 20 *l.* *Tetterfol* breaks open locks to come at malt; Being gotten to the heap, filleth, without all measure, sixty of five bushel sacks, which he hath sold to one of his gang for 12 *s.* *per* quarter. One that went out of the house where the meeting was, just as the disturbers were coming to it, is notwithstanding convicted.

W. Beard *fined* 20 l. *and distress made for it.*

'AT *Chillington*, three miles from *Lewes*, one *Nicholas Martin* was upon slight evidence convicted by Sir *Thomas Nutt*, for having a meeting at his house;

Nicholas Martin *fined* 20 l. *and distress made for it.*

'fined 20 *l.* for which they drain his 'land, and took from him six cows, two 'young bullocks and a horse, being all 'the stock he had. These were return-'ed to him again upon his entring an 'appeal; but being strangely cast at the *Appeals, was cast, and fin'd 60 l.* 'Sessions, he was by the court fined 60 *l.* 'which was at last remitted to 23 *l.* 'For non-payment whereof, he was com-'mitted to the Jaylor's hands; nor could 'he be released, though one *Salisbury*, 'Vicar of the place, his grand persecu-'tor, being convinced he had dealt inju-'riously with him, offered to give bond 'to pay the whole fine within a quar-'ter of a year.'

SUCH was the great rage and malice, with which in those days, the persecutions were carried on against the *Non-conformists*, by the *Justices* and *Clergy* throughout the kingdom, that more mercy was extended to *criminals*, than to those whom they could charge with no *crimes*, either against the church or state.

Manuscript penes me. IT is observed by one Mr. *Josiah Dixon*, who had been often committed to prison, and bound over to several *Assizes* and *Sessions*, for having private meetings in his house; that he found the spirit and temper of the *Judges* and *Justices* in those times to be such, that when any person or accusation came before them concerning *Dissenters*, they were zealous in aggravating

vating their crimes; and many who were uſually ſilent in other caſes, were very forward ſpeakers in theſe: Whereas, in other *criminal matters* they were cool, and very willing to ſhew all the favour they could.

An account of ſome perſecutors in Oxfordſhire.

BUT to paſs by ſuch melancholly relations of barbarity, uſed upon people for no other crime but becauſe they feared God, and could not in conſcience conform to the rites and ceremonies, which they would have impoſed upon them, of which I have many inſtances now before me; I ſhall produce ſome teſtimonies of God's diſlike of ſuch proceedings, by his hand of providence ſtretched out againſt ſome of the *chief perſecutors* and *informers* againſt the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* in *Oxfordſhire*; collected by the aforeſaid Mr. *Diſton*, and ſeveral others, who had a perſonal knowledge of what I am about to relate.

Anne Clemens.

ONE *Anne Clemens*, wife of *Matthew Clemens*, a baker, a man that had an houſe and land of his own freehold, in good buſineſs, and lived plentifully: This woman was noted, at *Chipping-Norton*, for her rage and malice againſt the *Diſſenters*. She in a violent manner attacked a *Miniſter* in the pulpit, tore his cloak, and with ſome others aſſiſting her, forced him from the pulpit, and ſet up an *epiſcopal one* in his room; for which action ſhe gained the

Mr. Ford.

title of Captain *Clemens*. Soon after this, her family ſunk in their eſtate; and though ſhe had ſeveral children, not one that lived thereabout was in a condition of living comfortably in the world. One of her daughters went beyond ſea; the family grew poor, the land was ſold, the houſe mortgaged for near its worth, the huſband died, and ſhe was left ſo poor, that ſhe was in a little time forced to beg alms of thoſe ſhe had hated and perſecuted; and under a grievous judgment, of having an appetite to eat as much as would ſatisfy two or three people, and ſo ſubject to breed vermin, that her daughter-in-law ſaid, that though ſhe had waſhed and oven'd her cloaths, yet ſhe could not keep her clean. In this deplorable condition ſhe lived ſome years, and then died miſerably as to this world, and it is to be feared, ſays the Relator, as to the life to come.

R. Allein. MR. *Richard Allein* was another who appeared very ſoon in diſquieting his religious neighbours; and though he had formerly been a member of a diſſenting congregation, yet all the time of the Diſſenters troubles, till near his death, he was a very active *informer* againſt them, and took all opportunities of afflicting them, till ſome very afflicting providences befel himſelf, and ſuch as were thought to be the means of ſhortning his life. His eldeſt

eldeſt *Son* was killed at *London*; and near the ſame time, his ſecond *Son* was accuſed and arraigned at *Oxford* Aſſizes, for robbing on the highway, and it was by great friends and fees, that he eſcaped with his life, but was never after heard of in theſe parts. The father never enjoyed himſelf after this, nor acted any more againſt the *Diſſenters*; but ſhortly after died a ſudden death.

MR. *Thomas Lodge*, having in this county a free eſtate of about fifty pounds *per Ann.* and twenty pounds a year left him by his father, and beſides was an officer in the county troops. This man ſet himſelf violently to perſecute the Diſſenters, and reſolved to ſuppreſs them intirely; but before he could accompliſh his deſign, and ruin them in their perſons and eſtates, he ſunk very much in his own eſtate, ſold part of it, and died greatly in debt. The remainder of his eſtate being much incumbred, was ſoon after ſold by his ſon, whoſe children are now ſo poor, that they are common beggars. T. Lodge.

Robert Werg, when he was Conſtable, was a very forward and buſy man, at informing againſt Diſſenters, watching to diſcover their meetings, and in making diſtreſs on their goods: He lived not long after he came out of office. In his ſickneſs he was heard to ſay, that he caught Robert Werg.

his death by watching one cold night, to take the Diſſenters at their meeting.

Thomas Samuel, Thomas Pannier, Thomas Houlton, William Knowlis, Richard Adcock.

Thomas Samuel, *Thomas Pannier*, *Thomas Houlton*, *William Knowlis* and *Richard Adcock*, were all perſons whom thoſe in power employ'd to watch the Diſſenters meetings, and inform againſt them, and received penſions for what they did in this wicked ſervice: But it was obſerved, that they did not proſper in their worldly affairs afterwards, and that ſhortly after every one of them died.

Lord Falkland, *Sir* Tho. Pennyſtone, *Sir* Wm. Moreton, *Sir* Tho. Roe.

THE Lord *Falkland* an *Iriſh* Peer, Lord Lieutenant of the County, Sir *Thomas Pennyſtone*, deputy Lieutenant, Sir *William Moreton*, and Sir *Thomas Roe*, were Juſtices of the Peace, and bitter perſecutors of the Diſſenters, employing their whole power to ruin them; and it is obſerved concerning them, that by ſome blaſt of Providence they came to be utterly ruin'd themſelves, their eſtates ſold, and moſt of their families became extinct, and that ſome of them were cut off by death, before they could accompliſh their threatnings of the further miſchief they deſigned.

Sir Littleton Obaldiſton.

Sir *Littleton Obaldiſton*, another Juſtice of the peace, has been ſometimes heard to rail againſt Diſſenters, it being accounted a mark of loyalty, to reproach and villify them. He did alſo join with other Juſtices in committing Diſſenters to priſon; but,

but, says the Relator, there is ground to hope, that he saw his evil afterwards; because he was instrumental in releasing several, and carried himself friendly towards them the residue of his life. He is dead, and his estate is continued to his posterity.

——— *Howard*, Esq; being a Justice of the peace, and an Officer in the county troops, at the beginning of the Dissenters troubles, was, like *Saul*, a zealous persecutor of them; he broke up a meeting, and committed several to prison, out of zeal, as he then said, for the church: But shortly after, being apprehensive that there was a design to bring in Popery, he released those whom he had committed to prison, and never acted against Dissenters any more; but, on the contrary, expressed great friendship towards them, and was not backward to own to them, and others, that he was mistaken in the persons and their principles; and for his moderation to them, was by others reproached, and accounted as one of them, tho' still a constant adherer to the established worship. This gentleman, says the Relator, is the only person in this part of the county, that was a disturber of the Dissenters that is now living, this 30th of *Dec.* 1707. being now an old man, full of days, wealth and honour. Howard.

Anno. 1671.

The King designs to govern absolutely.

THE large supplies of money which the parliament had given to support his Majesty's pleasures, kept up a pretty good agreement between him and them: But now the King having assurance of large remittances from *France*, he resolved to govern by the *prerogative*, and stand upon his own legs. And,

HAVING taken up a resolution to become absolute, he easily saw, says *Rapin*, 'that the execution of it required an artful and cautious conduct, and such secret and imperceptible methods, as would not too plainly discover his intentions. For he could not suppose, that because he desired to be absolute, the people of *England* would immediately give up their liberties and privileges: It was therefore necessary to lead them to it insensibly and by degrees; and to that end he wanted a secret council composed of few persons, in whom he might entirely confide, and whose interest it was to accomplish this design. The ordinary council consisting of twenty one persons, was not proper to conduct this affair. For, besides that some Counsellors had a right to their places, as for instance, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it was very difficult to ingage so many persons of the first rank in such a plot. To effect therefore this undertaking

Hist. Engl. *vol.* 2. *p.* 655.

'taking with the more caution, the King 'established a cabinet council of five per- 'sons only; namely,

Forms the Cabal.

'*Clifford*,
'*Arlington*,
'*Buckingham*,
'*Aſhley*,
'*Lauderdale*.

'As the initial letters of theſe five 'names compoſed the word C A B A L, 'this ſecret council was from thence 'called the *Cabal*.

'In to theſe five members of the Ca- 'bal, ſays *Rapin*, are joined, as in rea- 'ſon they ought, the King and the Duke 'of *York*, it will be found, that all the 'ſeven were for an abſolute and arbitrary 'government; and that, with regard to 'religion, four were Papiſts, namely, the 'King, the Duke, *Arlington* and *Clif- 'ford*; and three without any religion, 'or at leaſt they conſidered it only as an 'engine of ſtate. Theſe were *Buckin- 'gham*, *Aſhley*, and *Lauderdale*.

Ib. p. 656.

'It would be difficult to know the 'tranſactions of the *Cabal*, if Father *Orleans*, 'inſtructed by King *James* II. had not 'told us, that a war with *Holland* was 'there reſolved, in order to furniſh the 'King with a pretence to keep on foot 'both land and ſea-forces. For it is ma- 'niſeſt,

Who reſolve upon a war with Holland.

'nifeſt, that ſuch a deſign could be ac-
'compliſhed, but by force or fear. The
'pretence for this war was to be taken
'from the diſpute about the flag, which
'might eaſily be renewed; and from
'the general complaints of the *Engliſh*
'merchants concerning their commerce,
'of which ſo great uſe had been made
'for undertaking the former war. *But*,
'adds Father *Orleans*, *the true reaſon of*
'*making this war upon* Holland, *was the*
'*ſecret correſpondence between the repub-*
'*licans of* England *and the* Dutch; *who*
'*were inceſſantly exciting them to rebel-*
'*lion, and to ſhake off the yoke of monarchy,*
'*being even ready to ſupport thoſe that ſhould*
'*attack it.* This ſeems, ſays *Rapin*, to
'contradict what the ſame author ad-
'vances a few lines before; namely, that
'the true ground of this war was to fur-
'niſh the King with a pretence for raiſ-
'ing an army. There is, however, no
'contradiction, for it muſt be conſidered,
'that the deſign of the King and the
'Cabal concerned two points, which went
'hand in hand, and formed properly but
'one deſign; namely, to introduce an ar-
'bitrary government, and to extirpate the
'proteſtant religion. As it could not be
'expected, that the *Engliſh* would tamely
'give up their religion and liberty with-
'out any reſiſtance, it was natural to be-
'gin with depriving them of the only aſ-

'ſiſtance

'ſiſtance they could hope for, by attacking the *Dutch*, and diſabling them to ſuccour *England*. Thoſe therefore who are called by Father *Orleans* the Republicans of *England*, were the perſons, who it was ſuppoſed, would oppoſe the King's deſigns, as well Epiſcopalians as Preſbyterians, and the Republicans properly ſo called. It is therefore clear, that the true reaſon of making war upon the *States*, was as much to put it out of their power to aſſiſt the *Engliſh*, as to have a pretence for raiſing forces, and that this was but one and the ſame reaſon.'

And an indulgence to Diſſenters.

To ſhew, that one of the branches of the project formed by the Cabal, was to make the King abſolute, and that under that branch was comprized the extirpation of the Proteſtant, or at leaſt the introduction of the Popiſh Religion, *Rapin* quotes an extract from the hiſtory of Father *Orleans*, who after ſpeaking of what had paſſed concerning the *Papiſts* and other *Nonconformiſts*, adds, 'The King who *Ib. p. 662.* 'was no good chriſtian in his actions, 'tho' a Catholick in his heart, did all 'that could be expected from his indolent 'temper, to preſerve the common liberty, 'that the Catholicks might partake of it. 'But the church of *England* prevailed, 'and Chancellor *Hide* was ſo warm upon this occaſion, that the King was obliged

'liged to yield rather to his importuni-
'ties than his reasons. It was therefore
'the re-establishment of this liberty
'of conscience, that the Lord *Ashley*
'believed necessary to the execution
'of the projected design. He commu-
'nicated his thoughts to his colleagues
'of the Cabal, who were of the same
'opinion, not only on account of the
'reason he alleged, which was, the gain-
'ing of the *Nonconformists*, who were
'justly feared; but also upon another,
'which he readily approved, namely, the
'favouring of the *Catholicks*, whom most
'of them loved, and the rest esteemed.
'*Arlington* and *Clifford* were secretly
'*Catholicks*, and both died in the com-
'munion of the Church. *Buckingham*
'had no occasion to be converted, could
'he only have prevailed with himself as to
'libertinism. *Ashley* was not averse to the
'catholick religion, till interest and ma-
'lice threw him into the contrary party.
'It will easily be conceived, that the
'King readily consented to it, since he
'was a *Catholick*, and continued so to
'his death, though policy caused him to
'pretend the contrary. As for the Duke
'of *York*, he supported the design with
'all his power. All the difficulty lay in
'the extent of this liberty; and the two
'Kings, of *France* and *England*, acting
'in concert, debated this affair in the ne-

'gotiation

'gotiation of their treaty. Several propo-
'ſals were made, ſome more, ſome leſs
'advantagious to the Catholicks. *France*
'was for the moſt moderate, ſafeſt, and
'moſt ſeaſonable methods. At laſt it was
'agreed, that *Charles* ſhould grant liberty
'of conſcience to all his ſubjects in gene-
'ral.

'IT appears from hence, ſays *Rapin*, *Anno 1672.*
'that religion was concerned in the pro-
'jects of the Cabal. But probably ſome
'were for having the progreſs of the
'popiſh religion ſubſervient to render the
'King abſolute, and others were for
'rendering the King abſolute, to favour
'the progreſs of Popery. Wherefore,
'theſe two articles were never ſeparated,
'nor indeed could be, ſince they entirely
'depended on each other. The King plain- *A declaration for liberty of conſcience.*
'ly ſhewed it, when he publiſhed his de-
'claration for liberty of conſcience; ſince
'he could not grant this liberty, without
'aſſuming a power to abrogate acts of
'parliament, or at leaſt ſuſpend the exe-
'cution thereof ſo long as he pleaſed.
'This declaration, dated the 15th of
'*March*, 1672. conſiſted of various ar-
'ticles,' of which *Rapin* has given the
ſubſtance.

'1. HIS Majeſty publiſhes it, *in vir-*
'*tue of his ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical*
'*matters*, which is a right inherent in his
'perſon,

'person, and declared to be so by several 'acts of parliament.

'2. HE declares his express resolution 'to be, that the church of *England* be 'preserved and remain intire in her doc-'trine, discipline and government, as 'now it stands established by law.

'3. THAT no person shall be capable 'of holding any ecclesiastical benefice or 'preferment of any kind, who is not ex-'actly conformable.

'4. THAT the execution of all penal 'laws in matters ecclesiastical, against 'whatsoever sorts of Nonconformists or 'recusants, be immediately suspended.

'5. HE declares, that he will from 'time to time allow a sufficient number 'of places, as shall be desired, in all parts 'of his kingdom, for the use of such as 'do not conform to the church of *Eng-*'*land*, to meet and assemble in, in order 'to their publick worship and devotion.

'6. THAT none of his subjects do pre-'sume to meet in any place, until such 'place be allowed, and the teacher of that 'congregation be approved by him.

'7. HE declares, that this indulgence, 'as to the allowance of publick places of 'worship, and approbation of teachers, 'shall extend to all sorts of Nonconfor-'mists and recusants, except the recusants 'of the *Roman* Catholick religion, to 'whom he will no ways allow publick

'places

'places of worſhip, but only indulge 'them their ſhare in the common exemp-'tion from the executing the penal laws, 'and the exerciſe of their worſhip in their 'private houſes only.'

THIS indulgence did not pleaſe the *Preſbyterians* in general; for many of them had far rather have had any tolerable ſtate of unity with the publick miniſtry, than ſuch a *toleration*. However, they went in a body, and were introduced by the Lord *Arlington*; and Dr. *Manton*, in their name, thanked the King for his declaration. Moſt of them, ſays Dr. *Burnet*, had yearly penſions of fifty pounds; and the chief of them of one hundred pounds. *Vol. 2. p.* 398.

THIS deep laid deſign, under the plauſible pretence of *toleration*, to introduce *popery*, plainly appeared: For the Proteſtant Diſſenters, till they could get meeting-houſes built, were more terribly reſtrained from meeting together than before; and it is not to be imagined they would be very forward to erect meeting-houſes, when they had by this *indulgence* no ſecurity to enjoy them, even for a week; when the *Papiſts* were immediately put into poſſeſſion of a ſecurer and fuller liberty, being permitted in their houſes, any where under their own government, without limitation or reſtriction to any number of places or perſons, or any neceſſity of getting approbation.

bation. Thus, tho' this *indulgence* was said to be for avoiding the danger of conventicles in private; yet the *Papists* were allow'd such conventicles, in as many houses as they pleased.

Vol. 2. p. 662. MR. *Tindal* observes, in his notes on *Rapin*, from *Kennet*'s History, 'That 'the Lord *Clifford* told a Person of Quality in private discourse, that the King, 'if he would be firm to himself, might settle what religion he pleased, and carry 'the government to what height he would; 'for if men were assured, in the liberty 'of their consciences, and undisturbed in 'their properties, able and upright Judges made in *Westminster-Hall*; and if, on 'the other hand, the fort of *Tilbury* was finished to bridle the *City*, the fort of *Plymouth* to secure the *West*, and arms for twenty thousand men in each of these, and in *Hull* for the northern parts, 'with some addition (which might be easily and undiscernedly made to the forces on foot) there were none who 'would have either will, opportunity or 'power to resist.'

The Commons address the King against his declaration. *Vol. 2. p. 667.* THE House of Commons, alarmed with the proceedings of the King and his Cabal, presented an address to him against his *declaration for liberty of conscience*. In which they told him, says *Rapin*, 'That 'having taken into consideration his declaration for *indulgence* to *Dissenters*, they 'found

'found themſelves bound in duty to in-
'form his Majeſty, *That penal laws in*
'*matters eccleſiaſtical cannot be ſuſpended*
'*but by act of parliament*. They therefore
'moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty to
'give ſuch directions, *that no apprehenſions*
'*or jealouſies might remain in the hearts*
'*of his faithful ſubjects*. To this addreſs,
'ſays he, the King ſent the following *The King's*
'anſwer: That he is very much troubled, *anſwer.*
'that the declaration which he put out for
'ends ſo neceſſary to the quiet of this king-
'dom, eſpecially in that conjuncture,
'ſhould prove the cauſe of diſquiet, and
'give occaſion to the queſtioning of his
'power in eccleſiaſticks, which he finds
'not done in the reigns of any of his an-
'ceſtors. That he never had thoughts
'of uſing it otherwiſe than as it had been
'intruſted in him to the peace and eſta-
'bliſhment of the church of *England*, and
'the eaſe of all his ſubjects in general.
'Neither doth he pretend to ſuſpend any
'laws wherein the properties, rights, or
'liberties of any of his ſubjects are con-
'cerned; nor to alter any thing in the
'eſtabliſhed doctrine or diſcipline of the
'church of *England*. But his only de-
'ſign in this was, to take off the penal-
'ties inflicted by ſtatutes upon the Diſ-
'ſenters, and which he believed, when
'well conſidered of, they themſelves would
'not wiſh executed according to the ri-

'gour of the law. Neither hath he done 'this with any thought of avoiding, or 'precluding the advice of his parliament; 'and if any bill ſhall be offered to him, 'which ſhall appear more proper to at-'tain the aforeſaid ends, and ſecure the 'peace of the church and kingdom, when 'tendered in due manner to him, *He will* '*ſhew how readily he will concur in all* '*ways that ſhall appear for the good of the* '*kingdom.*'

THE King and the *Cabal* found, that this declaration was far from engaging the Diſſenters on their ſide. For tho' liberty of conſcience was ſo greatly deſirable, they did not deſire it to the ruin of the church and kingdom. Alderman *Love*, a *city* member, and an eminent Diſſenter, ſpoke in the houſe with the greateſt warmth againſt the declaration; and ſaid, *he had much rather ſtill go without their deſired liberty, than have it in a way that would prove ſo detrimental to the Nation* *.

THE Commons ſeeing the Diſſenters ſo ready to ſacrifice their own, to the intereſt of religion and the kingdom, order'd a bill to be brought in for their eaſe, by which all the penalties againſt them in the act of *uniformity* were removed, and nothing required but the taking the oaths of *ſupremacy* and *allegiance*. This bill in a

* Kennet, *p.* 318.

few

few days was compleated; but the Lords having made ſome amendments, the King prorogued the parliament before theſe amendments could be agreed to by the Commons.

THE difficulties into which the King by his *Cabal* had involved himſelf were ſo great, that to prevent a rupture between him and his parliament, after ſome heſitation, at the ſolicitation of his Ladies, called for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the ſeal; and in his ſpeech to his parliament, tells them *, 'If 'there be any ſcruple yet remaining with 'you, touching the ſuſpenſion of the pe-'nal laws, I here faithfully promiſe you, 'that what hath been done in that par-'ticular, ſhall not for the future be drawn 'into example and conſequence; and as 'I daily expect from you a bill for my 'ſupply, ſo I aſſure you, I ſhall as wil-'lingly receive and paſs any other you 'ſhall offer me, that may tend to the 'giving you ſatisfaction in all your juſt 'grievances.' *He calls in his declaration.*

THE King having not courage and reſolution enough to withſtand the complaints of the parliament, gave a check to the hopes of the *Cabal*, which were founded on the King's ſteadineſs, and threw them into a great conſternation; *The* Cabal *in confuſion.*

* Rapin, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 669.

for they looked upon themselves in danger of being abandoned by the King, and left to the resentment of the parliament: some of them therefore deserted the King, and hereby the grand designs of this *Cabal* were frustrated.

THE bill in favour of the Protestant Dissenters met with another disappointment; for the King adjourned the parliament before the Lords had given their assent to it; which shews, his Majesty had no concern for the interest of the Dissenters; for if he had, he might have deferred the adjournment a few days, till the bill passed in their favour had been ready, or at least might have pressed the two houses to have finished it. Thus the poor Dissenters, being deprived of the shelter of his Majesty's declaration, were left by the parliament to the storm of the severe laws which were in force against them, and by some Justices were rigourously put in execution; but the greater part were then more moderate, and so the Dissenters had in many places a liberty of performing their worship in their own way. But this hardly lasted three years, and the persecution of them revived, and continued to the end of this reign; and, says Dr. *Welwood* *, 'was one continued in-

* Memoirs, *p.* 119.

vasion

'vision upon the rights of the people, 'and the nation seemed unwilling now 'to contend for them any more.'

OUR worthy Patriots now began to have a scent of a plot to bring in popery, and stood upon their watch. Something they discerned to be in hand, and that the project was deeply laid, but on what persons to charge it they knew not, and were wholly in the dark, as to the methods and particulars of it, till in the year 1678. Dr. *Oates* entered upon that never-to-be-forgotten service to his country, at once saving the life of his sovereign, the government of the nation, and the protestant religion, from a total extirpation, and all good protestants from a massacre.

THIS conspiracy, or as it is more generally called the *Popish plot*, gave occasion to many Politicians to exercise their talents, some in supporting the reality, others in exposing the falsity of it. A full account of the conspiracy, and of the reasons and proofs alledged in maintenance of the reality or falshood, you may see in *Rapin*; which is both foreign to my purpose, and too large to be inserted here.

IT was about this time, that the controversy among the *Baptists* about *laying on of hands*, called by the Clergy *confirmation*, created not a little trouble to those who were for the practice of that apostolical

The laying on of hands controverted among the Baptists.

lical ordinance, occasioned by the publication of a treatise, entitled, *A Search after Schism*, by a nameless company, in opposition to it.

THIS was answered by Dr. *John Griffith*, in a piece, entitled, *The Searchers after Schism searched*; and drew from Mr. *Grantham*, *his Sigh for Peace, or, the Cause of Division discovered.* The publication of this book occasioned a meeting between Mr. *Grantham* and Mr. *Ives*, where a dispute upon that head was had with much temperance and good humour. Mr. *Ives* finding himself much gravelled, broke up the meeting, as I am informed, very peaceably and friendly.

ABOUT three years after Mr. *Danvers* wrote a treatise against *laying on of hands*, which was answered by Mr. *Benjamin Keach*; and also by Mr. *Grantham*, who annexed to his answer, *A treatise of the successors of the Apostles.* In which he pleaded for the *Jus Divinum* of the *Messenger's* office; which is continued among some of the *Baptists* to the present day.

Anno 1673. THAT the persons and principles of of those termed *Anabaptists* might be held in disgrace, and rendered odious to the people: In the year 1673, was published a Pamphlet, entitled, *Mr. Baxter baptized in Blood*, which, says * Mr. *Hooke*,

* *Apology, p.* 6-7.

the

the author of the *Apology for the baptized churches*, 'gave an account of a 'barbarous murder, committed by four 'Anabaptists, at *Boston* in *New-England*, 'upon the body of a godly Minister, 'called Mr. *Josiah Baxter*, for no other 'reason, but because he had worsted 'them in disputation; which was set 'forth, with all the circumstances and 'formalities of names, speeches, actions, 'time and place, to make it look the 'more authentick; orderly and most 'pathetically describing the most execra-'ble murder, that ever was known, *viz.* 'of first stripping, and cruelly whip-'ping, then unbowelling, and fleeing a-'live, a reverend godly Minister in his 'own house, in the midst of the howl-'ing groans and shreechings of his dear 'relations, lying bound before him. And 'the better to create belief, this sad story 'is pretended to be published by the 'mournful brother of the said murdered 'Minister, named *Benjamin Baxter*, liv-'ing in *Fenchurch*-street, *London*. More-'over, the *Authors* had dealt so cunning-'ly, that they had prevailed with Dr. '*Samuel Parker* to license it.'

A wicked slander against the Baptists *confuted.*

It hath been always the malicious practice of that grand slanderer *Satan* and his *Instruments*, since the first times of christianity, when they could not resist the power of religion, to defame the persons and as-

ſemblies of all Chriſtians, with foul and hateful crimes laid to their charge; as appears by the apologies of *Juſtine Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and others. But the *Authors* of this ſlander have hatched a *forgery* beyond all ſtory; not only under the ſpecious pretence of piety, intitling God himſelf, his holy Word, and all that is ſacred therein, but with the formalities of names, ſpeeches, actions, time and place, orderly and moſt pathetically deſcribing the moſt execrable murder that ever was known, exceeding the cruelties of the moſt ſavage Heathens.

I THINK it may be truly ſaid, that the bounds of chriſtian profeſſion are not wide enough to afford us an example parallel to the prodigious malice of theſe lying *defamers*; pretending this horrid fact as done by *Anabaptiſts*, that they might the better expoſe the whole profeſſion of them in all parts, tho' never ſo innocent, to the hatred and rage of the people in all places againſt them.

FOR it concludes in theſe words, *viz.*

'I HAVE penn'd and publiſhed this 'narrative, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*; 'that the world may ſee the ſpirit and 'temper of theſe men, and that it may 'ſtand as an eternal memorial of their 'cruelty and hatred to all Orthodox Mi-'niſters.'

Now

NOW this was enough to perſuade any body, that the report was true, eſpecially being publiſhed with allowance; and might make men, not only aſham'd to be *Anabaptiſts*, but to abhor the name and *Sect* for ever. Nevertheleſs, by divine providence, this was ſoon diſcovered to be all falſe and forged, not a tittle of truth in it; for a ſhip coming from *Boſton* in *New-England*, about twenty days after this murder was ſaid to be committed, two of the men, the *Maſter* of the veſſel, and a *Merchant* that was with him, atteſted upon oath, before the Lord Mayor of *London*, that they never knew ſuch a man as Mr. *Joſiah Baxter*; that they had heard of no ſuch report, nor knew any occaſion of ſuch a thing; but did believe it was a very great falſhood.

THE *Officers* of the two wards of *Aldgate* and *Langburn*, in which *Fenchurch*-ſtreet is ſituate, gave a certificate under their hands, that within their memories, no ſuch man as *Benjamin Baxter*, the pretended brother that publiſhed the ſtory, had lived in *Fenchurch*-ſtreet. The King's Privy Council examined the caſe, and detected the *forgery*, and accordingly ordered the publiſhing the ſame in the *Gazette*; and Dr. *Parker*, that had been too credulous, and haſty in licenſing this tragical ſtory, confeſſed his error,

error, and gave a teſtimonial under his hand, acknowledging the ſame.

The affidavit of the two *New-England men.*

By two Men's affidavit.

'*Rich. Martin*, maſter of the good ſhip, 'the *Bloſſom* of *Boſton*, of *New-England*, 'Merchant, and *Henry Mountfort* of *Boſ-* 'ton, aforeſaid, Merchant, make oath, 'that on the 26th day of *February* laſt 'paſt, they theſe deponents ſet ſail from '*Boſton* aforeſaid, for the port of *London*; 'and theſe deponents alſo ſay, and affirm, 'that they, the ſaid deponents, for di- 'vers years laſt paſt, have had their con- 'ſtant reſidence and abode in or near *Boſ-* 'ton aforeſaid; but theſe deponents, and 'either of them, for himſelf ſaith, that 'they never heard of, or knew any Mi- 'niſter, called or known by the name of '*Joſiah Baxter*; nor was there to theſe 'deponents knowledge or belief, any diſ- 'pute or controverſy whatſoever, between 'the ſaid *Baxter* and the *Anabaptiſts* in '*New-England*, of or concerning any 'points of religion; neither was there 'any report at *Boſton* aforeſaid, or any 'other place in *New-England*, of or con- 'cerning any murder, pretended to have 'been committed upon the ſaid *Baxter*, 'or any other perſon or perſons what- 'ſoever, by any *Anabaptiſts* in *New-Eng-* '*land*. And theſe deponents do verily

'believe

'believe that the late book, intitled, Mr. 'Baxter baptized in blood, is an abſolute 'pamphlet, and a very great falſhood; 'for that theſe deponents were reſiding 'at *Boſton* aforeſaid, two and twenty days 'after the ſaid murder, in the ſaid pamph-'let mention'd, is pretended to have been 'committed.'

May 21, 1673. Ambo jurat. fuer. coram me, *Rob. Hanſon*, Mayor.

Richard Martin.
Henry Mountfort.

HEREUPON the Lord-Mayor was pleaſed by his officers, not only to interdict the vending the ſaid ſcandalous pamphlet, but to ſeize it in the hands of the hawkers and mercuries that ſold the ſame; and to ſuppreſs a ſecond impreſſion thereof in the preſs; committing alſo to *priſon* ſeveral of the publiſhers.

THE certificate of the officers of the Ward. *By the officers of the pariſh.*

'WHEREAS we have lately ſeen a 'pamphlet, entitled, Mr. *Baxter bap-'tized in blood*, ſaid to be publiſhed by 'his mournful brother, *Benjamin Baxter*, 'living in *Fenchurch-ſtreet*, *London*: We 'the Church-wardens, Overſeers and 'Beadles, do certify, that there is no 'ſuch man, doth or hath, within our 'memory, lived in the two wards of '*Aldgate* and *Langbourne*, in which *Fen-'church-ſtreet* is ſituate. To the truth of

'which

'which atteſtation, we whoſe names are 'under written, have ſet our hands, this '27th day of *May*, 1673.'

Thomas Baylie,
William Wickins,
Gordard Fleteh,
Thomas Fiſher,
} Church-wardens.

Samuel Loveday,
Ralph Almond,
} Overſeers.

Will. Tiplington,
Thomas Smith,
} Beadles.

AN addreſs being made to the *Council-board*, they upon examination of the buſineſs, find it falſe and fictitious, and accordingly ordered the publiſhing the ſame in the Gazette, *viz.*

The order of Council.

By the order of Council.

'WHEREAS there is a pamph-'let lately publiſhed, entitled, 'Mr. *Baxter baptized in blood*, contain-'ing a horrible murder, committed by 'four *Anabaptiſts*, upon the perſon of 'Mr. *Joſiah Baxter*, near *Boſton* in *New-'England*: The whole matter having 'been enquired into, and examined at 'the Council-board, is found altogether 'falſe and fictitious.

'*Edw. Walker.*'

THE

THE licenſer, Dr. *Samuel Parker*, being alſo made acquainted with the whole matter, confeſſeth his miſtake and too ſudden credulity in the licenſing ſo ſtrange a pamphlet, as appears by the teſtimonial under his hand, *viz.*

Dr. *Parker*'s Teſtimonal.

'WHEREAS there was a certain pamphlet, lately publiſhed under the title of, Mr. *Baxter baptized in blood*, containing a Narrative, of a murder committed on the perſon of one *Joſiah Baxter*, a Miniſter, near *Boſton* in *New-England*; which *Narrative* was allowed of, licenſed, and publickly expoſed to ſale; Theſe are to certify, that the allowance and licenſe thereof, was obtained at the deſire and ſuggeſtion of one *Laurence Savil*: Who in order to procure the ſame, did really produce to the licenſer, letters and teſtimonals, under the hands, as he pretended, of ſeveral perſons in *New-England*, containing the particular circumſtances of the ſaid relation, and aſſerting the truth of the ſame, as in the printed copy is expreſſed. All which, upon further enquiry and examination, the ſaid licenſer hath ſince evidently found *By Dr. Parker.*

'found to be fictitious and untrue, con-
'trived and invented here in *England*,
'without any warrant or atteſtation from
'beyond the ſeas. And ſo much he hath
'thought fit to publiſh, to the end that
'no perſon may be abuſed or impoſed
'upon by a report, which, as he is now
'ſufficiently convinced, is both falſe and
'groundleſs.

Read in Council, 30th of *May*, 1673. *Samuel Parker.*

The ſuppoſed publiſher of this notorious forgery was one Seymer, *a pretended Doctor of Phyſick, who upon diligent ſearch was diſcovered and met with.*

Laurence Savil, who obtained the licenſing of this infamous pamphlet, thro guilt hiding his head, could not be met with; but wrote a letter to one of them who were in ſearch after him, and confeſſeth himſelf drawn in and cheated, by this imaginary and ſuppoſitious *Benjamin Baxter*. The letter was thus:

'*SIR*,

'THE Doctor * has urged and preſ-
'ſed me by ſeveral letters, to give
'the world a full and ſatisfactory ac-
'count of this buſineſs, of Mr. *Baxter*'s
'pamphlet. Mr. *Benjamin Baxter*, the
'Author of the late pamphlet, about nine
'weeks ſince, inſinuated into my acquain-
'tance: firſt in *Gray's-inn-walks*, and
'afterwards at a Coffee-houſe in *Holbourn*.
'I met him often in the walks, from
'thence

* Seymer.

By a letter from Laurence Savil.

'thence we went to the Coffee-houſes: 'I was well-pleaſed with his company, 'becauſe he ſeemed an ingenious perſon, 'a good ſcholar, and an *orthodox member* 'of the Church of England. He uſed 'always to diſpute againſt the *Anabap-* 'tiſts; and in Coffee-houſes, to be ſo 'fierce in his invectives againſt that *party*, 'that ſometimes he became ridiculous 'to the company. He would often much 'comment on the increaſe of that party. 'Afterwards he told me, he was compo- 'ſing a general *Hiſtory* of the firſt ori- 'ginal and progreſs of the *Anabaptiſts*, 'with a full confutation of their tenets, 'which he was confident would be a 'work very acceptable to the ſober part 'of the nation.

'THEN he told me, he had a parti- 'cular kindneſs for me, and that I ſhould 'have the publiſhing of it; by which he 'was ſure I might gain no leſs than '100 *l.* I returned him thanks for his 'kindneſs, and told him, I was not ac- 'quainted in things of that nature; but 'that it was more fit for ſome Bookſel- 'ler to deal in, and that it would re- 'quire a diſburſement of a conſiderable 'ſum of money, which I was loath to 'venture. He inſtantly replied, that tho' 'I was ignorant in the buſineſs of print- 'ing, yet he underſtood it well, and had 'printed ſeveral things, but now his bu-

'ſineſs

'ſineſs coming on ſo faſt, he had no time 'to follow it himſelf; but if I pleaſed, 'would wholly employ me in it, and 'would diſburſe the money for printing 'and paper, but leave the profit entirely 'to me. I muſt confeſs, theſe offers 'ſeemed very fair; I could not hand-'ſomely refuſe ſuch kindneſs. So the 'buſineſs was concluded, and I every 'day expected this elaborate work for the 'preſs. I ſaw him no more for eight 'days together, at which I much won-'dered: but one evening at *Gray's-inn*, I 'met him in a moſt heavy and diſcon-'ſolate condition. After I had preſt 'him to diſcourſe the cauſes of his grief, 'he told me his ſorrows were unexpreſ-'ſible; that his dear brother, that was 'formerly gone to *Virginia*, he heard 'was killed by the *Anabaptiſts*. And 'then in a great paſſion, he flung me 'three letters, and had me read them. 'He ſaid he was reſolved to *immortalize 'the fact*, and let it ſtand for ever as an 'eternal memorial againſt that party. I 'was much troubled at the ſad fate of his 'brother, and ſo we parted. Some three 'days after we met again; and then he 'ſhewed me the copy of this *pamphlet*, 'and told me he came juſt then from *Lam-'beth*, and that Dr. *Parker* had licenſed 'it; for, ſaid he, I ſhewed Dr. *Parker* 'the three letters, and could not forbear

weeping.

'weeping. Could you yourself have 'doubted of the reality of the buſineſs, 'if you had ſeen the licenſe to it, his 'tears and paſſionate expreſſions, and al-'ſo the three letters? So at laſt I conde-'ſcended to do it. The next day I went 'to Mr. *Darby*, and deſired him to print 'it. He took a view of the copy, and 'ſaid he was not ſatisfied of the truth of 'it; but he would recommend me to a '*Cavalier* printer, as he expreſſed it, in '*Jewin-ſtreet*, who would readily per-'form the buſineſs. I deferred the pub-'liſhing for ſeven or eight days, expect-'ing to hear ſome objection againſt it, 'but meeting not with any, I publiſhed 'it. Mr. *Baxter* conſtantly met me eve-'ry day, and always urged the expedite, 'and ſudden publication of the *Narra-'tive*. I told him it was coming forth. 'He told me, I ſhould command what 'money I deſired, for this and ſeveral 'other books he had to come forth. I 'replied, that none was wanting yet; 'but when it was printed, the printer 'was to be paid. Upon *May* 15, I 'ſhewed him a proof ſheet; he ſaid, he 'was glad the buſineſs was ſo forward, 'he would go to the goldſmith to-mor-'row; for, ſaid he, that will ſoon be enough 'for the printer. But in the mean time, 'ſays he, pray let me have four or five 'Guineas till to-morrow. I told him I

'had not ſo much about me, but what I 'had he ſhould have: ſo I let him have 'forty ſhillings, and we parted. The 'next day I expected him, but he came 'no more, neither have I ever ſeen or 'heard from him ſince.

'FORMERLY, when I aſked him con-'cerning his lodging, he ſaid he lived in '*Fenchurch-ſtreet*, but he was ſeldom at 'home, and it was impoſſible for me to 'meet with him. He ſaid he was an 'Attorney, and had good employment 'that way. Thus has this fellow put 'upon me a buſineſs, and now unwor-'thily deſerted me. And now I begin 'too late, to perceive him either to be a 'cheat, or to be groſly cheated, and 'gulled with falſe letters; for he ſeveral 'times ſaid, he had not heard of his 'brother, ſince his departure out of *Eng-'land* till now. If I can do any further 'ſervice in the matter, I ſhall be very 'ready and willing; for unleſs *Baxter* 'appears in his own defence, and pay 'me the money I lent him, I ſhall cer-'tainly conclude him a cheat.

'As for my friend the *Doctor*, he 'was altogether unconcerned in the mat-'ter, and did only recommend me to a 'printer, at my requeſt. All this that 'I have writ, I will avouch to be moſt 'true, and if you pleaſe to print it, I 'will

will ſtand to it, and juſtify it to be the naked truth of the buſineſs.

Your real friend,

May 20, 1673. *Laurence Savill.*

THUS this dark cloud was diſſipated, that threatened a perillous ſtorm to the *Anabaptiſts*, ſo called, in *Old England*; the ſun ſhone bright in our horizon again, and the *Anabaptiſts* looked as fair as their neighbours. And altho' to be falſely accuſed, directly or indirectly, is a great exerciſe; yet to be cleared, and timely acquitted, is God's good providence, and an encouragement patiently to bear ſuch ſlanderous reports; eſpecially remembering, it was the common caſe of all chriſtians, even from the beginning, to be defamed and evil ſpoken of without cauſe. We may from hence ſee, how injuriouſly and cruelly the malice of ſome men hath vented itſelf againſt the *Baptiſts* and their profeſſion; and how ſpeedily and opportunely the goodneſs and favour of God, have appeared in their timely and ſucceſsful vindication.

DR. *Parker* was ſuſpected to be the Author of this *ſcandalous libel*. And no wonder, ſince from a *Nonconformiſt*, when the times changed, he changed too, and

became not only a *Conformist*, but wrote bitterly against the *Nonconformists*, calumniating all the foreign *Protestants*, and stirring up of persecution against those at home, creating a misunderstanding betwixt the King and his people; so that the whole design of his books tended to the disturbance of all government. Mr. *Andrew Marvel*, a zealous *Conformist*, in his *Rehearsal transprosed*, takes notice of this *Libel*, and says, 'It was indeed a 'piece of *Ecclesiastical History*, which he '[Dr. *Parker*] thought, it seems, very fit, 'to reconcile to the present juncture of 'affairs, and recommend to the present 'genius of the age. And yet from be'ginning to end, there never was a com'pleater falsehood invented —— and in 'good earnest, says he, I dare not swear 'but it was the Author of the *Ecclesias'tical Polities* own handy-work. — And, 'indeed, what reason could there be, 'what likelihood, that any other man 'should go so far out of the way with 'such a book to him, who was the most 'improper licenser of such things of that 'nature? Unless he may have therefore 'been the most proper licenser, because he 'had given so many testimonies, as books, 'of his good inclination to such matters; 'and that (not only in *History*, but even 'in *Doctrine* too) he did not so nearly 'consider the *truth*, as the *interest*. And

Part II. p. 100.

'there-

'therefore, if, perhaps, he was not the 'Author, yet I dare undertake, that 'when he came to the licenſing of that '*pamphlet*, he felt ſuch an expanſion of 'heart, ſuch an adlubeſcence of mind, 'and ſuch an exaltation of ſpirit, that 'betwixt joy and love, he could ſcarce 'refrain from kiſſing it. And this, 'ſays he, no man living can deny, 'that either, if he thought there were 'any fault in it, he took care to correct 'and fit it for the preſs, with that ad-'vantage, that it came out; or elſe, 'he found it ſo ſatisfactory, that it paſ-'ſed his approbation without any amend-'ment and ſo tranſporting, that he forgot 'to keep a copy for his own juſtification. 'And truly, had it not chanced that 'there was preſent and immediate proof 'upon the place to convict the *forgery*, 'as ſoon as publiſhed, it might probably 'have had the effect for which it was de-'ſigned; however, adds Mr. *Marvel*, no 'thanks to the licenſer, who either was 'alſo the Author, or the more criminal 'of the two; by how much the licenſer 'is always preſumed to have the ſtricter 'inſpection, the better judgment, and 'more honeſty; and is therefore intruſt-'ed by my Lord Archbiſhop to give 'the ſtamp of publick authority —— I 'know he will, ſays he, take it un-'kindly, that this ſhould be revived, after,

'he will ſay, he hath given ſo ample ſa-
'tisfaction ſince for it, in his *teſtimonial*
'to the contrary; but he may pleaſe to
'conſider, that this was ſince the late act
'of general pardon, that it all happened
'ſince the writing of the *reproof*; that he
'hath only given a maſterly certificate,
'as it were, from a juſtice of peace,
'inſtead of making an humble recanta-
'tion as an offender. Had he but, as
'they ſay indeed, he complimented the
'*Anabaptiſts* on this occaſion, ſo printed
'it too, *that he eſteemed them to be the near-*
'*eſt to truth of all the Diſſenters from the*
'*Church from England*, it had been ſome
'ſign of penitence and integrity, and a-
'mounted to ſome degree of reſtitution.'

Anno 1674. *The* Baptiſts *contend with the* Quakers.

IN this year were ſeveral books publiſhed by the *Baptiſts* againſt the *Quakers*, and by the *Quakers* in their own defence. Much more noiſe was made thereupon than was deſigned; and the matter having been carried to a great height, requires more notice to be taken thereof than otherwiſe it would have merited.

G. Whitehead, Dippers *plea*, *p.* 1.

Thomas Hicks, a Baptiſt preacher, publiſhed ſeveral pamphlets in ſucceſſion, under the title of *A Dialogue between a Chriſtain and a Quaker*; at which the *Quakers* were much offended, ſtiling them malicious forgeries and fictions, ſtuft with manifeſt ſlanders againſt their perſons and princi-

principles. To the first and second Dialogues *William Penn* replied, in a book entitled, *Reasons against railing, and Truth against fiction.* Unto which Mr. *Hicks* made a reply in a third dialogue, intitled, *The Quaker condemned out of his own mouth.* To this Mr. *Penn* replied, in a book, entitled, *The counterfeit Christian detected*; wherein he charges Mr. *Hicks*, with manifold perversions, downright lies and slanders, *&c.* In this book he appealed to the *Baptists* in and about *London*, for justice against *Thomas Hicks*; threatning in case of a refusal, to pursue him, not only as *Thomas Hicks*, but as the *Baptists* great Champion, peculiar agent or representative: and that it might be the more taken notice of, they employ'd persons to give the book away at the doors of several meeting-houses.

UPON this, the *Baptists* appointed a day; and to prevent the *Quakers* from pleading any surprize, they sent a letter to *Will. Penn*, and another to *George Whitehead*, to be present at the appointed day, for the examination of *Thomas Hicks*; but receiving notice that they were out of the way, they sent to *John Osgoods*, to tell him, that he, or any of their friends, might be present at the time appointed; for the matter, say they, being only matter of fact, and not of dispute, we conceive we may proceed to hear *Thomas*

Hicks's defence. So that the *Quakers* had no need to complain of the *Baptists* taking the advantage of the abſence of *William Penn* and *George Whitehead*, who were moſt concerned, and who ſhould make good the charge, ſince they having the charge before them, had nothing more to do but to hear the defence of *Thomas Hicks*.

ON the day appointed, neither *William Penn*, *George Whitehead*, nor any other *Quaker* appeared. Several did affirm, ſays my Author, that *William Penn* was not far from *London*, ſeveral days before the day of meeting, after the Letter (of advice) was ſent to him: And others reported that he was at his own houſe, at no great diſtance from town, the very day preceding. If theſe things be true, *William Penn* could not be abſent for want of information.

Manuſcript penes me.

ON the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, the appointed day, Mr. *William Kiffin* opened the aſſembly, and gave an account of the occaſion of it; then read the *Quakers* appeal, and told them, that the buſineſs of the day was not to diſpute, but to hear, examine and judge, whether *Thomas Hicks* was guilty of charging the *Quakers* falſely.

THEN *Thomas Hicks*, endeavoured to prove that he had not accuſed the *Quakers* falſely, either in doctrine or practice.

Firſt,

First, as to doctrine, he proved, that they held all the corrupt opinions he charged them with.

1. *That the light in every man is God.*

THIS *William Penn* owns, when he says, where we never charged him with forgery, he, viz. *Thomas Hicks*, hath taken opportunity, and that with confidence of innocence to cry out, [Is that candid to call me forger, when you own the thing?] Examine, says he, *Dial.* 3. *p.* 4, 5, 6, 9. your pages referred to, relate to the point in hand. Counterfeit Christian, *p.* 9.

HE (meaning *George Whitehead*) owns it, the life which is the light of men, is God himself. Again, we assert the true light, with which every man is enlightened, to be in itself the Christ of God. This light is divine, because it is the life of the world, which is God. *Ib. p.* 56.

HE quotes other passages, where they call the light divine and uncreated. *Reasons against railing.*

THAT light which was before conscience or creature, before sun, moon, and stars, and that by which all things were made that were made. Christ by whom the world was made, which was before any thing was made, or conscience named, the eternal ever-living God, the King of Saints, which he gave to me his Servant, to declare to the inhabitants of the Earth, the Lord whose name is the light *Quakerism a nick name.*

G. Fox's *Great mystery*, *p.* 18, 23, 185, 331. Whitehead, Dippers plea, *p.* 13. G. Fox, *junr. p.* 47, 49, &c.

light. That light is also represented as thus speaking of himself; I the light created all things, I the light gave unto every one of you life and breath, you scorn me, the light in you, &c.

Dial. 1. *p.* 16. *Reason against railing, p.* 65. G. Fox. Gr. Myst. *p.* 90, 29, 100, 68.

2. *That the Soul is part of God, of God's being, without beginning, and also infinite.*

THIS charge, *William Penn* says, is false. To prove it, Mr. *Hicks* quotes this passage out of the Quakers writings. Is not the soul without beginning? And produces plain places where they say expressly, 'tis without beginning or ending, infinite, not a creature, but part of God, of God's being.

Dial. 3. *p.* 2.

3. I DO accuse the *Quakers, that they deny Jesus Christ to be a distinct person without us.*

William Penn says, this is an unsound inference, from their asserting the true light with which every man is enlightened to be the Christ of God and Saviour of the world.

IN answer to this, Mr. *Hicks* cites some passages, which shew he was not mistaken, from their own books.

G. Fox. Dip. *plea, p.* 13. App. to Reasons against railing, *p.* 21, 27.

Jesus Christ, a person without us, is not scripture language; but to suppose him to be so, is anthropomorphism, mugletonianism and socinianism; and the thoughts of a human and personal Christ, are carnal imaginations and dark thoughts.

GIVE

GIVE me one place that mentions Christ to be a distinct person without us. God's Christ, and Christ is not distinct from his Saints. If there be any other Christ but he that is crucified within us, he is the false Christ. Counterfeit Christian. G. Fox's GreatMystery, p. 207, 16, 206.

4. *That Christ redeems himself.* Dial. 4. p. 47.

William Penn says, that this is a gross perversion. Reasons against railing.

FOR the proof of this, Mr. *Hicks* refers to several passages, such as these:

FEW are come to know what it is wants redemption, and that the promise is to; for there is a seed to which the promise is. Christ is the election and the seed. James Naylor's Love to the lost, p. 47, 32.

THE promise of God is to the seed, that hath been laden as a cart with sheaves by the sinner, which seed is the hope Christ. We assert the redemption of the seed. 'Tis not absured to affirm, that the end of God's manifesting himself in the flesh, was for the redemption and deliverance of his holy life, that was in man, as a small seed, that had been long vex'd, grieved and pressed down by sin and iniquity. This seed was and is pure for ever, &c. G. Fox GreatMystery, p. 324. Reason against railing, p. 62, 63, 64, &c.

5. THAT the *Quakers* deny *the Scriptures to be the rule of life and practice to Christians.*

WE deny the scripture to be the rule of

of faith and practice, in honour of the Divine light their author. He that perſuades people the ſcriptures are ſo, is darkneſs; 'tis a ſetting the ſcriptures in the place of Chriſt.

Reaſ. againſt railing. Ed. Burroughs, *p.* 62. G. Whitehead. Chriſt aſcend. Dial. 1. *p.* 28.

6. *That the ſpeaking of the ſpirit in any one is of greater authority than the Scriptures.*

THIS is proved expreſsly by the anſwer of a *Quaker* to one who put the queſtion to him.

G. Whitehead, Serious Apol. *p.* 49.

7. *That is no command of God to me, which God hath given to another; neither did any of the ſaints act by that command which was given to another; every one obeyed their own command.*

Ed. Burroughs, *p.* 47. 105.

8. *That juſtification by that righteouſneſs which Chriſt fulfilled for us, wholly without us, is a doctrine of devils.*

W. Penn's Serious apol. *p.* 146.

9. *That the Quakers hold juſtification by works, in the ſtricteſt notion.*

GOD accepts not any when there is any failing, or who do not fulfil the whole law, and anſwer all the demands of juſtice. We muſt not conceive *Abraham's* perſonal offering was not a juſtifying righteouſneſs, but that God was pleaſed to count it ſo; nor was there any imputation of another righteouſneſs to *Abraham*; but on the contrary, his perſonal righteouſneſs

Ed. Burroughs. *p.* 33.

W. Penn Reaſ. againſt railing, *p.* 80.

ouſneſs was the ground of that juſt imputation? Therefore that any ſhould be juſtified by another righteouſneſs imputed, and not inherent in him, is both ridiculous and dangerous.

10. *That Chriſt fulfilled the law only as our pattern.* Dial. 2. p. 52.

William Penn ſays, the word *only* is not there, nor is the fulfilling of the law, the ſubject there treated of. Sandy Found. p. 26.

THE citation at large, *Rom.* ii. 13. from whence I obſerve, unleſs we become doers of that law, which Chriſt came not to deſtroy, but as our example to fulfil, we can never be juſtified before God; wherefore obedience is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that ſhort of it there can be no acceptance; nor let any fancy, that Chriſt hath ſo fulfilled it for them, as to exclude their obedience from being requiſite to their acceptance, but *only* as their pattern.

11. *That the doctrine of Chriſt's ſatisfaction is irreligious and irrational.*

O the infamous portraicture, this doctrine draws of the infinite goodneſs! Is this your retribution, O injurious ſatisfactioniſts? Sandy Found. p. 22.

12. *That this body which dies ſhall not riſe again.*

George Whitehead ſaid theſe words before ſeveral witneſſes.

William

Reaſ. againſt railing, *p.* 133, 134.

William Penn ſays, This doctrine is inconſiſtent with ſcripture and reaſon; it out-does tranſubſtantiation in abſurdity.

As to the *ſecond* head or matter of practice,

1. *That it concerns them to render their adverſaries as ridiculous as they can, and to make their friends believe, they do nothing but contradict themſelves; and if this fail, to inſinuate ſomething by way of queſtion, that may ſlander them.*

Spirit of truth vindicated, p. 6.

THAT that is their practiſe, Mr. *Hicks* proves from *William Penn*'s complaint, that he had not an opportunity to do thus by the Author of *the ſpirit of the Quakers tried*, becauſe he had not ſet down his name.

Divinity of Chriſt, p. 49.

George Whitehead, in anſwer to Mr. *Dunſon*, who ſtiles himſelf miniſter of the Goſpel at *Sandwich*, aſks, But is not rather that report true, that he was given to gaming, *&c* ?

Spirit of truth vindicated, p. 137.

To excuſe him *William Penn* ſays, who knows not, that prieſts don't ſcruple theſe things? and if *George Whitehead*, to detect the prieſt, did make this query, muſt it be preſumed, he took him for ſuch? It is not juſt therefore for *William Penn* to charge me with forgery in that particular.

2. *I charged the Quakers, that they called ſuch as askéa them queſtions, reprobates; and ſaying, they are in the ſorcery and the witchcraft.*

William

William Penn ſays, it is a great lie. See *Edward Burrough's Works*, p. 29, 34.

3. *That* William Penn, *by the ſenſe of the eternal ſpirit doth declare, that theſe curſing, railing, and lying anſwers of* Edward Burroughs, *were the only fit anſwers to the Prieſt's trepanning queſtions.* *William Penn* calls that an ungodly ſlander; but ſee the very words.

4. *They prefer their own pamphlets to the bible; for they call the one the voice of wiſdom, breathings of true love, ſhield of faith, a ſpiritual glaſs, light riſen out of darkneſs: But the ſcriptures are called letter, dead letter, paper, ink, and writing, carnal letter, &c.* Reaſ. againſt railing, p. 164.

5. *They bid people follow the light within, and if they don't, they revile them.*

William Penn calls it a great lie; but it is plain from their railings at ſuch as oppoſe them and their error.

6. *They ſay God himſelf is the immediate teacher of his people, and yet they appoint their miniſters to ſpeak in ſuch a place.* Dial. 2. p. 66.

SEE this urged againſt them by the Author of *the Spirit of the hat*, one no ſtranger to their practices.

7. *They entitle God to ſleeveleſs errands.* Dial. 1. p. 27.

8. *They refuſe publick meetings to debate the chief things in difference between them and*

and others, under pretence of their being cautious of running theirs into jeopardy.

William Penn says, this is a notorious falsehood. Mr. *Hicks* answers, I can prove it by several witnesses. Mr. *Prior's* letters to Mr. *Haworth*, has those very words in it.

9. *That they own the Scripture as far as it agrees with the light within.*

William Penn says, this is a forgery. Mr. *Hicks* says, this is proved before, in that they assert the scripture to be given forth from the light within.

10. *That the light within created heaven and earth, and is the immediate object of divine worship.* This is proved under the first doctrinal charge, tho' *William Penn* says, it is a forgery.

Reas. against railing.

11. *That if these things objected in the two first dialogues be true,* William Penn *hath confessed* a Quaker *is no Christian.*

William Penn charges this also as a forgery, tho' he has writ these words. He, Mr. *Hicks*, to vindicate himself from injustice, has given us a second part, wherein he hopes to make good what he has charged on us by quotations out of our own books; which if faithfully done, I shall freely acknowledge, that a *Quaker* is quite another thing from a *Christian.*

Reas. against railing, *p* 4.

12. *William Penn* accuses me of *forgery*, in saying he has these words, viz. *That*

were

were we what he represents us, the worst plagues, and judgments of God would be our portion. Which are his own words, with this little alteration, that he says, *we might justly expect them to be our portion for ever.*

13. *William Penn* charges me with a downright lie, in giving this answer to *George Whitehead's* name, viz. *That the plagues and judgments of God will follow thee*; tho' it is attested too under Mr. *John Gladman's* own hand. Reas. against railing, *p.* 163. Dial. 3. *p.* 85.

14. *That their owning Christ is no other than a meer mystical romance; and that the light within them sees no necessity of a mediator*: And tho' *William Penn* calls these lies and slanders, yet they are true, *since they deny Christ to be a distinct person, and maintain, that God accepts not of any who do not fulfil the law, and every demand of justice.* Reas. against railing, *p.* 154.

15. ANOTHER lie, *William Penn* charges me with, is this; *That the* Quakers *deny Christ's visible coming, and appearance in the World*: Whereas *Edward Burroughs* having returned answer to a certain gentleman, that Christ never was visible to him or his generation; I only noted, that the *Quaker* denied Christ was ever visible to such wicked men as he esteemed the Querist. *Ibid.*

16. *That they account the blood of Christ but as the blood of a common thief*; which

Ibid. tho' *William Penn* says is an ungodly aſperſion, is fully made out.

Dial. 2 p. 3-4. 17. *That one of their friends bid her husband take another woman.*

Dial. 2. p. 63. 18. *That a revelation hath been pretended to excuſe the payment of a juſt debt.*

Dial. 1. p. 26. 19. *That ſome of their friends have excuſed ſome of their villanies, by pretence to an innocent life.*

Dial. 3. Epiſt. CONCERNING theſe three laſt I propoſe this unto the *Quakers*, That if they will chuſe ſix ſober and diſintereſted perſons, I alſo will do the like, and if I cannot give ſufficient reaſons for what I have objected againſt them, I will contentedly ſubmit unto what theſe men will determine.

WE whoſe names are under-written do certify, that the aforeſaid quotations are truly recited out of the books to which they refer.

Witneſs our hands,

Dan. Dyke
Thomas Paul
Tho. Wilcocks
Fona. Jennings
Owen Davis
Wm. Dix
Robert Maton
Hanſerd Knollys
Hen. Forty
Rob. Snelling
Tho. Plant
John Hunter
John Vernon
John Goſnold
John Norcott
Maur. King
Joſeph Morton
John Snelling
Edw. Noble.

THERE

THERE were many more Miniſters and others, who were ready to atteſt the ſame.

N.B. WE have abbreviated the account by much. There was an advertiſement giving notice, that Mr. *William Kiffin* was not preſent by reaſon of buſineſs; but that he had ſince examined and found the quotations juſt.

William Kiffin.

Thomas Hicks having thus met at the time and place appointed, made it appear out of the *Quakers* own books, that he had not wronged them in the leaſt. The Church therefore to which he belonged, in publick print cleared him from the *Quakers* charge; and declared to the world, that they as yet ſee no juſt cauſe of blame to be laid unto *Thomas Hicks*; but that if any one ſhall object any new matter againſt him, if they ſignify the particulars in writing, they will return ſuch anſwers thereunto, as to them may ſeem juſt, and that may alſo be to the ſatisfaction of all indifferent and unprejudiced minds, hoping that nothing ſhall lie upon them in point of duty towards him, but that by the grace of God, they ſhall be ready to do it. *Epiſtle to the* Quakers *appeal anſwered.*

William Kiffin *Daniel Dyke*
Thomas Paul *Hanſerd Knollys.*
Henry Forty

MR. *Wills*, in his appeal to the *Baptists* againſt Eſqr; *Danvers*, obſerves, that tho the *Quakers* were diſappointed as to the iſſue of their Appeal, 'yet it doth ap-'pear, ſays he, to all impartial and unpre-'judiced perſons, that the *Baptists* have 'carried the whole buſineſs with a great 'deal of fairneſs and impartiality to both 'ſides, as became juſt judges and good 'Chriſtians, and vindicated the honeſty 'of their brother from the unjuſt aſper-'ſions of his adverſaries.'

THE *Quakers* exhibited a new complaint, in which they deſired a rehearing of the whole matter, which at laſt was granted them. Wherein they behaved themſelves ſo diſorderly, as diſpleaſed the whole auditory; and finding themſelves not able to get the better of the *Baptists*, being diſappointed of the ſucceſs they hoped for, appointed a meeting at their own houſe in *Wheeler-ſtreet*: Thither Mr. *Hicks* would not go, becauſe they who had appealed were no fit judges to condemn in that caſe, upon which they had appealed; but ſent Mr. *Ives* thither with ſome others, who ſo managed the *Quakers*, that they were obliged to break up, without any further proceedings in the matter.

Life, p. 310. *Thomas Ellwood* tells us, that he let fly a broad-ſide at the *Baptists*, in a ſingle ſheet of paper, under the title of *A freſh Purſuit*. 'In which, ſays he, having re-ſtated

ſtated the controverſy between them and us, and reinforced our charge of forgery, &c. againſt *Thomas Hicks* and his *abettors*; I offered a fair challenge to them, nor only to *Thomas Hicks* himſelf, but to all thoſe his *compurgators*, who had before undertaken to acquit him from our charge, together with their companion *Jer. Ives*, to give me a fair and publick meeting, in which I would make good our charge againſt him as *principal*, and all the reſt of them as *acceſſaries*; but nothing could provoke them to come fairly forth.'

THOUGH Mr. *Ives* lived ſome years after this, yet Mr. *Ellwood* would never forgive him, for ſo ſmartly handling them in the controverſy then between them. For he tells us himſelf, that when he heard of his death, the impreſſion made upon his mind as well at this time, as before, drew from him ſomething like an *Epitaph*, which is publiſhed in the *hiſtory of his Life*, page 313, &c. But it is ſuch a barefaced piece of *defamation*, and a confirmation of one of the articles reſpecting their practice, which Mr. *Hicks* charged them with, that I believe the *Quakers* of the preſent day, who are a more ſober and inoffenſive people, would rather have it buried in oblivion; and therefore I omit it.

THE *Baptiſts* did publiſh an account of the two laſt meetings between them and the *Quakers*, together with the occaſion of theſe meetings, as alſo what letters paſſed in order thereunto; it was entitled, *A conteſt for Chriſtianity*, with ſome reflections upon ſeveral paſſages that were publiſhed in the account which the *Quakers* gave of the ſaid meetings. The ſame is ſubmitted to the judgment of all judicious and impartial men, and too long to be inſerted in this hiſtory, I muſt therefore refer the reader thereunto; and ſhall only obſerve in this place, that the *Quakers* being ſo chaf'd in their diſputes with the *Baptiſts*, that they did not only brand them with infamy, but denounced curſes and judgments upon them, becauſe they ſo ſtrongly withſtood that ſpirit of deluſion which they ſeemed to them to be under at this time; as appears in the following inſtance.

MR. *Ralph James*, Paſtor of the *Baptiſt* church at *North-Willingham* in the county of *Lincoln*, having either diſputed or otherwiſe declared his teſtimony, and bore witneſs againſt the errors of the *Quakers*, one *Richard Anderſon*, a *Quaker*, who lived at *Panton* in the ſame county, impiouſly aſſumed to himſelf the character of a prophet ſent of God, and in the name of God denounced this heavy judgment upon Mr. *James* in his preſence, *viz.* That he

he ſhould become a leper from head to foot for his oppoſing the ſpirit of the *Quakers*, or their light within; adding at the ſame time, that if he was deceived, the ſelf-ſame plague ſhould befal both him and his family: which accordingly came to paſs, for in a little time they were all leprous, and then the *Quaker* in extremity of pain, came ſorrowing and making his complaint to Mr. *James*, begging and intreating his prayers to God on his behalf, that he might be releaſed from that ſevere judgment; and accordingly Mr. *James* and his congregation kept days of faſting and prayer for him, and God was graciouſly pleaſed to give them eaſe and to heal them, which Mr. *Anderſon* freely confeſſed, and then addreſſed himſelf to their meetings.

THIS ſurpriſing inſtance with two others of the like nature, were ſoon after printed under the title of *A true and impartial Narrative of the eminent hand of God, that befel a* Quaker *and his family.* This ſtarting piece ſoon alarmed the *Quakers*, and leſt it ſhould farther expoſe their deluſion, and injure their cauſe, *Thomas Rudyard*, a lawyer, publiſhed in anſwer to it, a book entitled, *The Anabaptiſts lying Wonder*, to which a reply ſoon followed, intitled, *The Quakers ſubterfuge or evaſion overturned*, wherein the truth of the foregoing Narrative was farther confirmed

and eſtabliſhed, and the *Quakers* thereupon became ſilenced upon this head, tho' they fell to diſputation in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; in which Mr. *Thomas Grantham*, and others of the *Baptiſts* were very much engaged.

Anno 1677. IN the year 1677, was publiſhed by the *Baptiſts*, *a Confeſſion of their Faith, put forth by the elders and brethren of many congregations of Chriſtians, baptized upon profeſſion of their faith, in* London *and the country*. It is introduced with an Advertiſement *to the judicious and impartial Reader*. Wherein they obſerve, that it was many years ſince divers of them, with others, did conceive themſelves under a neceſſity of publiſhing a confeſſion of their faith; and that many others have ſince embraced the ſame truth which was owned therein. They judged it neceſſary to join together in giving a teſtimony to the world of their firm adhering to thoſe wholeſome principles, by the publication of this. And as their method and manner of expreſſing their ſentiments, doth vary from the former, altho' the matter of the ſubſtance is the ſame; ſo they give the reaſons thereof in the following words.

'ONE thing, ſay they, that greatly 'prevailed with us to undertake this 'work, was (not only to give a full ac-

'count

'count of ourſelves, to thoſe Chriſtians 'that differ from us about the ſubject of 'baptiſm, but alſo the profit that might 'from thence ariſe, unto thoſe that have 'any account of our labours, in their in-'ſtruction, and eſtabliſhment in the great 'truths of the Goſpel; in the clear un-'derſtanding and ſteady belief of which, 'our comfortable walking with God, 'and fruitfulneſs before him, in all our 'ways, is moſt nearly concerned. And, 'therefore, we did conclude it neceſſary 'to expreſs ourſelves the more fully, and 'diſtinctly; and alſo to fix on ſuch a me-'thod as might be moſt comprehenſive 'of thoſe things which we deſigned to 'explain our ſenſe and belief of. And 'finding no defect, in this regard, in that 'fixed on by the Aſſembly, and after 'them by thoſe of the congregational 'way, we did readily conclude it beſt to 'retain the ſame *order* in our preſent con-'feſſion. And alſo, when we obſerved 'that thoſe laſt mentioned did in their 'confeſſion, (for reaſons which ſeemed 'of weight both to themſelves and o-'thers) chuſe not only to expreſs their 'minds in words concurrent with the for-'mer in ſenſe, concerning all thoſe arti-'cles wherein they were agreed, but al-'ſo for the moſt part without any varia-'tion of the terms; we did in like man-'ner conclude it beſt to follow their ex-

'ample,

'ample, in making uſe of the very ſame 'words with them both, in theſe arti-'cles, (which are very many) wherein 'our faith and doctrine is the ſame with 'theirs. And this we did, the more a-'bundantly to manifeſt our conſent with 'both, in all the fundamental articles of 'the Chriſtian Religion; as alſo with 'many others, whoſe orthodox confeſ-'ſions have been publiſhed to the world, 'on the behalf of the Proteſtants in di-'vers nations and cities: And alſo to 'convince all, that we have no itch to 'clog religion with new words, but do 'readily acquieſce in that form of ſound 'words, which hath been, in conſent 'with the Holy Scriptures, uſed by o-'thers before us; hereby declaring before 'God, angels, and men, our hearty a-'greement with them, in that wholeſome 'Proteſtant Doctrine, which with ſo 'clear evidence of ſcriptures they have 'aſſerted. Some things indeed, are in 'ſome places added, ſome terms omitted, 'and ſome few changed; but theſe alte-'rations are of that nature, as that we 'need not doubt any charge or ſuſpicion 'of unſoundneſs in the faith, from any 'of our brethren upon the account of 'them.

'In thoſe things wherein we differ 'from others, we have expreſſed our-'ſelves with all candour and plainneſs,

'that

'that none might entertain jealouſy of
'ought ſecretly lodged in our breaſts, that
'we would not the world ſhould be ac-
'quainted with; yet we hope we have
'alſo obſerved thoſe rules of modeſty,
'and humility, as will render our free-
'dom in this reſpect inoffenſive, even to
'thoſe whoſe ſentiments are different
'from ours. We have alſo taken care to
'affix texts of ſcripture in the margin,
'for the confirmation of each article in
'our confeſſion. In which work we
'have ſtudiouſly endeavoured to ſelect
'ſuch as are moſt clear and pertinent,
'for the proof of what is aſſerted by us.
'And our earneſt deſire is, that all, into
'whoſe hands this may come, would
'follow that never enough commended
'example of the noble *Bereans*, who
'ſearched the ſcriptures daily, that they
'might find out whether the things
'preached to them, were ſo or not.

'THERE is one thing more which
'we ſincerely profeſs, and earneſtly de-
'ſire credence in, *viz.* that contention is
'moſt remote from our deſign in all that
'we have done in this matter. And we
'hope the liberty of an ingenuous un-
'folding our principles, and opening our
'hearts unto our brethren, with the
'ſcripture grounds on which our faith
'and practice leans, will by none of
'them be either denied to us, or taken ill

'from

'from us. Our whole design is accom-
'plished, if we may obtain that justice,
'as to be measured in our principles and
'practice, and the judgment of both by
'others, according to what we have now
'published; which the Lord, whose eyes
'are as a flame of fire, knoweth to be
'the doctrine, which with our hearts we
'most firmly believe, and sincerely en-
'deavour to conform our lives to. And
'oh! that other contentions being laid a-
'sleep, the only care and contention of
'all upon whom the name of our Blessed
'Redeemer is called, might for the fu-
'ture be, *to walk humbly with their God*,
'and in the exercise of all love and meek-
'ness towards each other; *to perfect holi-*
'*ness in the fear of the Lord*; each one
'endeavouring *to have his conversation*
'*such as becometh the Gospel*; and also
'suitable to his place and capacity, vi-
'gorously to promote in others the prac-
'tice of true religion, and undefiled in the
'sight of God and our Father: And that
'in this backsliding day, we might not
'spend our breath in fruitless complaints
'of the evils of others, but may every
'one begin at home, to reform in the
'first place our own hearts and ways,
'and then to quicken all that we may
'have influence upon, to the same work;
'that if the will of God were so, none
'might deceive themselves, by resting in,

'and

'and trusting to a form of godliness, 'without the power of it, and inward 'experience of the efficacy of those truths 'that are professed by them.'

THIS Confession of Faith was reprinted in the year 1689, and was approved of, and recommended by the ministers and messengers of above an hundred congregations met in *London*; and is still generally received by all those congregations, that hold the doctrine of personal election, and the certainty of the saints final perseverance: And therefore, I shall reserve the exhibition thereof till I come to treat of that time; and only add the Appendix they annexed to the Confession, published at this time.

THEY say, 'Whosoever reads, and 'impartially considers, what we have in 'our foregoing Confession declared, may 'readily perceive, that we do not only 'concenter with all other true Christians 'on the word of God, revealed in the 'scriptures of truth, as the foundation and 'rule of our faith and worship; but that 'we have also industriously endeavoured 'to manifest, that in the fundamental 'articles of Christianity we *mind the same things*, and have therefore expressed our 'belief in the same words, that have on 'the like occasion been spoken by other 'societies of Christians before us.

THIS

'THUS we have done, that thoſe who 'are deſirous to know the principles of 'religion which we hold and practiſe, 'may take an eſtimate from ourſelves, 'who jointly concur in this work; and 'may not be miſguided, either by undue 'reports, or by the ignorance or errors of 'particular perſons; who going under 'the ſame name with ourſelves, may give 'an occaſion of ſcandalizing the truth 'we profeſs.

'AND altho' we do differ from our 'brethren who are *Pædobaptiſts*, in the 'ſubject and adminiſtration of baptiſm, 'and ſuch other circumſtances as have a 'neceſſary dependance on our obſervance 'of that ordinance, and do frequent our 'own Aſſemblies for our mutual edifica-'tion, and diſcharge of thoſe duties and 'ſervices which we owe unto God, and 'in his fear to each other: Yet we would 'not be from hence miſconſtrued, as if 'the diſcharge of our own conſciences 'herein, did any ways diſoblige or alie-'nate our affections or converſation from 'any others that fear the Lord; but that 'we may and do, as we have opportuni-'ty, participate of the labours of thoſe, 'whom God hath indued with abilities 'above ourſelves, and qualified, and called 'to the miniſtry of the *word*; earneſtly 'deſiring to approve ourſelves to be ſuch, 'as follow after peace with holineſs. And

'therefore

'therefore we always keep that bleſſed *Irenicum*, or healing *word* of the Apoſtle before our eyes: *If in any thing ye be otherwiſe minded, God ſhall reveal even this unto you: Nevertheleſs whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the ſame rule, let us mind the ſame thing.*' Phil. iii. 15.

'LET it not therefore be judged of us (becauſe much hath been written on this ſubject, and yet we continue this our practice different from others) that it is out of obſtinacy; but rather, as the truth is, that we do herein according to the beſt of our underſtandings, worſhip God out of a pure mind, yielding obedience to his precept, in that method which we take to be moſt agreeable to the ſcriptures of truth, and primitive practice.

'IT would not become us to give any ſuch intimation, as ſhould carry a ſemblance that what we do in the ſervice of God is with a doubting conſcience; or with any ſuch temper of mind that we do thus for the preſent, with a reſervation that we will do otherwiſe hereafter upon more mature deliberation. Nor have we any cauſe ſo to do; being fully perſuaded, that what we do is agreeable to the will of God. Yet we do heartily propoſe this; that if any of the ſervants of our Lord *Jeſus* ſhall

'in

'in the spirit of meekness, attempt to 'convince us of any mistake either in 'judgment or practice, we shall diligently ponder his arguments; and account 'him our chiefest friend that shall be an 'instrument to convert us from any error 'that is in our ways: For we cannot wittingly do any thing against the truth, 'but all things for the truth.

'AND therefore we have endeavoured 'seriously to consider what hath been 'already offered for our satisfaction in 'this point: And are loth to say any 'more, lest we should be esteemed desirous of renewed contests thereabout. 'Yet forasmuch as it may justly be expected, that we shew some reason, why 'we cannot acquiesce in what hath been 'urged against us, we shall with as much 'brevity, as may consist with plainness, endeavour to satisfy the expectation of 'those, that shall peruse what we now 'publish in this matter also.

'1. As to those Christians who consent with us, *That repentance from dead 'works, and faith towards God, and our 'Lord* Jesus Christ, *is required in persons to be baptized*; and do therefore 'supply the defect, of the infant being uncapable of making confession of either, 'by others, who do undertake these things for it: Altho' we do find by Church-History, that this hath been a very ancient

client practice; yet considering, that the same scripture which does caution us against censuring our brother, with whom we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, does also instruct us, *That every one of us shall give an account of himself to God*, and *whatsoever is not of faith is sin*; therefore we cannot for our parts be perswaded in our minds, to build such a practice as this, upon an unwritten tradition; But do rather choose in all points of faith and worship, to have recourse to the holy Scriptures, for the information of our judgment, and regulation of our practice; being well assured that a conscientious attending thereto, is the best way to prevent and rectify our defects and errors. And if any such case happen to be debated between Christians, which is not plainly determinable by the Scriptures, we think it safest to leave such things undecided until the second coming of our Lord *Jesus*; as they did in the church of old, until there should arise a priest with *Urim* and *Thummim*, that might certainly inform them of the mind of God thereabout.

Rom. xiv. 4, 10, 12, 23.

2 Tim. iii. 16.

Ezra ii. 62.

2. As for those our christian brethren, who do ground their arguments for infants baptism, upon a presumed federal holiness, or church-membership; we conceive they are deficient in

'this, that albeit this covenant-holineſs 'and membership ſhould be as is ſuppoſ- 'ed, in reference unto the infants of be- 'lievers; yet no command for infant- 'baptiſm does immediately and directly 'reſult from ſuch a quality, or relation. 'All inſtituted worſhip receives its ſanc- 'tion from the precept, and is thereby 'governed in all the neceſſary circum- 'ſtances thereof. So it was in the cove- 'nant that God made with *Abraham* 'and his ſeed. The ſign whereof was 'appropriated only to the male, notwith- 'ſtanding that the female ſeed, as well as 'the male, were comprehended in the co- 'venant, and part of the Church of God. 'Neither was this ſign to be affixed to 'any male-infant till he was eight days 'old, albeit he was within the covenant 'from the firſt moment of his life. Nor 'could the danger of death, or any o- 'ther ſuppoſed neceſſity, warrant the 'circumciſing of him before the ſet time. 'Nor was there any cauſe for it; the 'commination of *being cut off from his* '*people* being only upon the neglect, or 'contempt of the precept.

'RIGHTEOUS *Lot* was nearly related 'to *Abraham* in the fleſh, and contem- 'porary with him, when this covenant 'was made: Yet inaſmuch as he did not 'deſcend from his loins, nor was of his 'houſhold-family, altho' he was of the

'ſame houſhold of faith with *Abraham*; yet neither *Lot* himſelf, nor any of his poſterity, becauſe of their deſcent from him, were ſigned with the ſignature of this covenant, that was made with *Abraham* and his ſeed.

'THIS may ſuffice to ſhew, that where there was both an expreſs covenant, and a ſign thereof, ſuch a covenant as did ſeparate the perſons with whom it was made, and all their offſpring, from all the reſt of the world, as a people holy unto the Lord, and did conſtitute them the viſible Church of God, tho' not comprehenſive of all the faithful in the world; yet the ſign of this covenant was not affixed to all the perſons that were within this covenant, nor to any of them till the prefixed ſeaſon; nor to other faithful ſervants of God, that were not of deſcent from *Abraham*. And conſequently that it depends purely upon the will of the Law-giver, to determine what ſhall be the ſign of his covenant; unto whom, at what ſeaſon, and upon what terms, it ſhall be affixed.

'IF our brethren do ſuppoſe baptiſm to be the ſeal of the covenant, which God makes with every believer, of which the Scriptures are altogether ſilent; it is not our concern to contend with them herein. Yet we conceive, the ſeal of that co-

'venant is the indwelling of the Spirit of 'Christ, in the particular and individual 'persons in whom he resides, and no- 'thing else. Neither do they or we sup- 'pose, that baptism is in any such manner 'substituted in the place of circumcision, 'as to have the same, and no other la- 'titude, extent, or terms, than circum- 'cision had. For that was suited only 'for the male-children; baptism is an or- 'dinance suited for every believer, whe- 'ther male or female: That extended to 'all the males that were born in *Abra- 'ham*'s house, or bought with his money, 'equally with the males that proceeded 'from his own loins; but baptism is not 'so far extended in any true Christian 'Church that we know of, as to be ad- 'ministred to all the poor infidel ser- 'vants, that the members thereof pur- 'chase for their service, and introduce in- 'to their families; nor to the children 'born of them in their house.

'BUT we conceive the same parity of 'reasoning may hold for the ordinance 'of baptism, as for that of circumcision: Exod. xii. 49. 'viz. *One law for the stranger, as for the 'home-born.* If any desire to be admit- 'ted to all the ordinances and privileges 'of God's house, the door is open, up- 'on the very same terms that any one 'person was ever admitted to all, or 'any of those privileges, that belong to

'the

'the Christian Church, may all persons
'of right challenge the like admission.
'As for that text of Scripture, *He re-* Rom. vi.
'*ceived circumcision, a seal of the right-* 11.
'*eousness of the faith which he had, yet be-*
'*ing uncircumcised*; we conceive if the
'Apostle's scope in that place be duely
'attended to, it will appear that no ar-
'gument can be taken from thence to
'inforce Infant-baptism. And forasmuch
'as we find a full and fair account of
'those words given by the learned Dr.
'*Lightfoot*, a man not to be suspected
'of partiality in this controversy, in his
'*Hor. Hebraic.* on the 1 *Cor.* vii. 19. p.
'42, 43. we shall transcribe his words
'at large, without any comment of our
'own upon them.

Circumcisio nihil est, ratione habita temporis, jam enim evanuerat, ad impleta præcipue ejus fine ob quem fuerat instituta: Istum finem exhibet apostolus in verbis istis, Rom. iv. 11. προεγράφη τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ. *At vereor ne a plerisque versionibus non satis aptentur*

'CIRCUMCISION is nothing, if
'we respect the time, for now it
'was without use; that end of it be-
'ing especially fulfilled, for which
'it had been instituted; this end the
'Apostle declares in these words,
'*Rom.* iv. 11. προεγράφη, &c. But I
'fear

aptentur ad finem circumcisionis & scopum Apostoli, dum ab iis interseritur aliquid de suo.

'fear that by most 'translations they 'are not sufficient'ly suited to the 'end of circumci'sion, and the scope 'of the Apostle, 'whilst something 'of their own is 'by them inserted.'

'AND after the Doctor hath repre'sented diverse versions of the words, a'greeing for the most part in sense with 'that which we have in our Bibles, he 'thus proceeds.

Aliæ in eundem sensum, ac si circumcisio daretur Abrahamo *in sigillum justitiæ istius, quam ille habuit, dum adhuc foret præputiatus; quod non negabimus aliqualiter verum esse; at credimus circumcisionem longe alio præcipue respexisse.*

'OTHER versi'ons are to the 'same purpose, as 'if circumcision 'was given to *A'braham* for a seal 'of that righteous'ness which he had, 'being yet uncir'cumcised: which 'we will not deny 'to be in some sense 'true; but we 'believe that cir'cumcision had 'chiefly

Liceat mihi verba sic reddere. Et signum accepit circumcisionis, sigillum justitiæ fidei, quæ futura in præputio; quæ futura dico; non quæ fuerat Abrahamo *adhuc præputiato, sed quæ futura semini ejus præputiato, id est, gentilibus, fidem olim* Abrahami *imitaturis.*

Nunc adverte bene, qua occasione instituta Abrahamo *circumcisio, ponens tibi ante oculos historiam ejus,* Gen. xvii.

Fit

'chiefly a far different respect.

'GIVE me leave 'thus to render the 'words. *And he 'received the sign 'of circumcision, a 'seal of the righteous 'ness of faith, which 'was to be in the un- 'circumcision: which 'was to be, I say; 'not which had 'been,* nor that 'which *Abraham* 'had whilst he was 'yet uncircumcised; 'but that which 'his uncircumcised 'seed should have, 'that is, the *Gen- 'tiles,* who in time 'to come should 'imitate the faith 'of *Abraham.*

'NOW consider 'well, on what oc- 'casion circumcis- 'on was instituted 'unto *Abraham,* set- 'ting before thine 'eyes the history 'thereof, *Gen.* xvii.

Fit primo ei hæc promissio, multarum gentium eris tu pater (quonam sensu explicat Apostolus, ista capite.) Et subinde subjungitur duplex sigillum rei corroborandæ; immutatio scilicet nominis Abrami in Abrahamum, & institutio circumcisionis, v. 4. Ecce mihi tecum est fœdus, eris tu pater multarum gentium. Quare vocatum est nomen ejus Abrahamus? In sigillationem hujus promissionis; Tu pater eris multarum gentium. Et quare instituta ei circumcisio? In sigillationem eiusdem promissionis; Tu pater eris multarum gentium. Ita ut hic sit sensus Apostoli, institutioni circumcisionis congruentissimus; accepit signum circumcisionis,

'THIS promise 'is first made unto 'him, *Thou shalt be 'the father of many 'nations* (in what 'sense the Apostle 'explaineth in that 'Chapter.) And 'then there is sub-'joined a double seal 'for the confirma-'tion of the thing; 'to wit, the change 'of the name *Abram* into *Abraham*, and the in-'stitution of cir-'cumcision, *v.* 4. *Behold as for me, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be the father of many nations.* Wherefore 'was his name cal-'led *Abraham?* For 'the sealing of this 'promise; *Thou 'shalt be the father 'of many nations.* 'And wherefore 'was circumcision 'instituted to him? 'For

nis,

nis, ſigillum juſtitiæ fidei, quam tum erat in circumciſo (vel Gentiles) habitura & adeptura.

'For the ſealing of 'the ſame promiſe, '*Thou ſhalt be the* '*father of many* '*nations.* So that 'this is the ſenſe 'of the Apoſtle, 'moſt agreeable to 'the inſtitution of 'circumciſion; He 'received the ſign 'of circumciſion, a 'ſeal of the righte-'ouſneſs of faith, 'which in time to 'come the uncir-'cumciſion, or the '*Gentiles* ſhould 'have and obtain.

Duplex ſemen erat Abrahamo: *naturale, Judæorum; & fidele, gentilium credentium. Signatur naturale ſigno circumciſionis: primo quidem in ſui diſtinctionem ab omnibus aliis gentibus, dum eæ nondum hucſorent ſemen* Abrahami: *at præcipue in memoriam juſtificationis gentium*

'*Abraham* had 'a twofold ſeed: '*natural*, of the '*Jews*; and *faith-'ful*, of the believ-'ing *Gentiles*. His 'natural ſeed was 'ſigned with the 'ſign of circumciſi-'on; Firſt, indeed, 'for the diſtin-'guiſhing of them 'from all other na-'tions, whilſt they

'as

um per fidem, cum tandem forent ejus semen. Cessatura ergo merito erat circumcisio, cum introducerentur Gentiles ad fidem; quippe quod tunc finem suum ultimum ac præcipuum obtinuerat; & perinde περιτομὴ *nr.*

as yet were not the seed of *Abraham*; but especially, for the memorial of the justification of the *Gentiles* by faith, when at length they should become his seed. Therefore circumcision was of right to cease when the *Gentiles* were brought into the faith; forasmuch as then it had obtained its last and chief end; and thenceforth *circumcision, is nothing.*

THUS far he: Which we earnestly desire may be seriously weighed; for we plead not his authority, but the evidence of truth in his words.

3. OF whatsoever nature the *holiness* of the children, mentioned 1 *Cor.* vii. 12. be; yet they who do conclude, that all such children (whether infants or of riper years) have from hence an immediate right to baptism, do as we con-

'conceive put more into the conclusion, 'than will be found in the premiſes.

'FOR altho' we do not determine po-'ſitively concerning the Apoſtle's ſcope in 'the *holineſs* here mentioned, ſo as to 'ſay, it is this or that, and no other 'thing; yet it is evident, that the Apo-'ſtle does by it determine not only the 'lawfulneſs, but the expedience alſo of a 'believer's co-habitation with an unbeliev-'er, in the ſtate of marriage.

'AND we do think that although the 'Apoſtle's aſſerting of the unbelieving 'yoke-fellow to be *ſanctified by the be-'liever*, ſhould carry in it ſomewhat more 'than is in the bare marriage of two in-'fidels, becauſe altho' the marriage-cove-'nant have a divine ſanction, ſo as to 'make the wedlock of two unbelievers a 'lawful action, and their conjunction and 'co-habitation in that reſpect undefiled; 'yet there might be no ground to ſup-'poſe from thence, that both or either of 'their perſons are thereby *ſanctified*; and 'the Apoſtle urges the co-habitation of 'a believer with an infidel in the ſtate of 'wedlock from this ground, that the un-'believing huſband is *ſanctified* by the be-'lieving wife. Nevertheleſs here you 'have the influence of a believer's faith, '*aſcending from an inferior to a ſuperior 'relation*; from the wife to the huſband 'who is her head, *before it can deſcend to*

'*their*

'their offspring. And therefore we say, 'whatever be the nature or extent of the 'holiness here intended, we conceive it 'cannot convey to the children an im-'mediate right to baptism, because it 'would then be of another nature, and 'of a larger extent, than the root and 'original from whence it is derived. For 'it is clear, by the Apostle's argument, 'that *holiness* cannot be derived to the 'child from the sanctity of one parent 'only, if either father or mother be (in 'the sense intended by the Apostle) *un-'holy* or unclean. So will the child be 'also; therefore, for the production of an 'holy seed, it is necessary that both the pa-'rents be sanctified. And this the Apostle 'positively asserts in the first place to be 'done by the believing parent, although 'the other be an unbeliever. And then 'consequentially from thence argues the 'holiness of their children. Hence it 'follows, that as the children have no 'other *holiness* than what they derive from 'both their parents; so neither can they 'have any right by this *holiness* to any 'spiritual privileges but such as both their 'parents did also partake of. And there-'fore, if the unbelieving parent, tho' '*sanctified* by the believing parent, have 'not thereby a right to baptism; nei-'ther can we conceive, that there is any 'such

such privilege derived to their children by their *birth-holiness*.

'BESIDES, if it had been the usual practice in the Apostle's days, for the father or mother that did believe to bring all their children with them to be baptized: Then the holiness of the believing *Corinthians* children would not at all have been in question, when this epistle was written; but might have been argued from their passing under that ordinance, which represented their new birth, altho' they had derived no holiness from their parents, by their first birth; and would have lain as an exception against the Apostle's inference, *else were your children unclean*, &c. But of the *sanctification* of all the children of every believer by this ordinance, or any other way, than what is before mentioned, the Scripture is altogether silent.

'THIS may be also added, that if this *birth-holiness* do qualify all the children of every believer, for the ordinance of baptism; why not for all other ordinances? For the Lord's supper, as was practised for a long time together? For if recourse be had to what the Scriptures speak generally of this subject, it will be found that the same qualities, which do intitle any person to baptism, do so also for the

'partici-

'participation of all the ordinances and 'privileges of the house of God, that are 'common to all believers.

'5. WHOSOEVER can and does interro-'gate his good conscience towards God, 'when he is baptized (as every one must 'do that makes it to himself a sign of 'salvation) is capable of doing the same 'thing, in every other act of worship 'that he performs.

'6. THE arguments and inferences 'that are usually brought for, or against 'infant-baptism, from those few instances 'which the Scriptures afford us, of whole 'families being baptized, are only con-'jectural; and therefore cannot of them-'selves be conclusive on either hand. Yet 'in regard most that treat on this sub-'ject for infant-baptism, do, as they con-'ceive, improve these instances to the 'advantage of their argument, we think 'it meet (in like manner as in the cases 'before-mentioned, so in this) to shew 'the invalidity of such inferences.

'*Cornelius worshipped God with all his 'house.* The *Jaylor*, and *Crispus*, the 'chief ruler of the synagogue, *believed 'God with each of their houses. The house-'hold of* Stephanas *addicted themselves to 'the ministry of the saints.* So that thus 'far *worshipping* and *believing* runs paral-'lel with *baptism.* And if *Lydia* had 'been a married person when she be-

'lieved

'lieved, it is probable her husband would
'also have been named by the Apostle,
'as in like cases, inasmuch as he would
'have been not only a part, but the head
'of that baptized household.

'WHO can assign any probable rea-
'son, why the Apostle should make men-
'tion of four or five households being
'baptized, and no more? Or why he
'does so often vary in the method of his
'salutations: Sometimes only mentioning Rom. i. 6,
'particular persons of great note; other
'times such, *and the church in their*
house; *the saints that were with them*;
'and *them belonging to* Narcissus, *who*
were in the Lord. Thus saluting either
'whole families, or parts of families, or only
'particular persons in families, considered
'*as they were in the Lord*? For if it had
'been an usual practice to baptize all
'children, with their parents, there were
'then many thousands of the *Jews* which
'believed, and a great number of the
'*Gentiles*, in most of the principal cities
'in the world; and among so many thou-
'sands, it is more than probable there
'would have been some thousands of
'households baptized: Why then should
'the Apostle in this respect signalize one
'family of the *Jews*, and three or four
'of the *Gentiles*, as particular instances
'in a case that was common? Whoever
'supposes that we do wilfully debar our

'children

'children from the benefit of any pro-
'mise, or privilege, that of right be-
'longs to the children of believing pa-
'rents; they do entertain over severe
'thoughts of us. To be *without natural*
'*affections* is one of the characters of the
'worst of persons in the worst of times.
'We do freely confess ourselves guilty
'before the Lord, in that we have not
'with more circumspection and diligence
'trained up those that relate to us in the
'fear of the Lord; and do humbly and
'earnestly pray, that our omissions here-
'in may be remitted, and that they may
'not redound to the prejudice of our-
'selves, or any of ours. But with re-
'spect to that duty that is incumbent on
'us, we acknowledge ourselves obliged by
'the precepts of God, *to bring up our*
'*children in the nurture and admonition*
'*of the Lord*, to teach them his fear,
'both by instruction and example; and
'should we set light by this precept, it
'would demonstrate, that we are more
'vile than the unnatural *Heathen*, that
'*like not to retain God in their knowledge*;
'our baptism might then be justly ac-
'counted as no baptism to us. There
'are many special promises that do en-
'courage us, as well as precepts that do
'oblige us, to the close pursuit of our
'duty herein. That God, whom we
'serve, being jealous of his worship,

'threatens

'threatens the *visiting of the fathers* 'transgressions upon the children, to the 'third and fourth generation of them that 'hate him: Yet does he more abundant-'ly extend his *mercy, even to thousands,* 'respecting the offspring and succeeding 'generations, of them *that love him, and* 'keep his commands.

'WHEN our Lord rebuked his disci-'ples, for prohibiting the access of little 'children that were brought to him, that 'he might pray over them, lay his hands 'upon them, and bless them, does de-'clare, *that of such is the kingdom of* 'God: And the Apostle *Peter*, in an-'swer to their enquiry, that desired to 'know *what they must do to be saved*, does 'not only instruct them in the necessary 'duty of repentance and baptism; but 'does also thereto encourage them, by 'that *promise* which had reference both 'to them and their children. If our Lord 'Jesus in the fore-mentioned place, do 'not respect the qualities of children, as 'elsewhere, as to their meekness, humi-'lity and sincerity, and the like, but in-'tend also that those very persons and 'such like, appertain to the kingdom of 'God: And if the Apostle *Peter*, in 'mentioning the aforesaid *promise*, do re-'spect not only the present and succeed-'ing generations of those *Jews*, that 'heard him, in which sense the same

'phraſe doth occur in ſcripture, but alſo 'the immediate offspring of his audi-'tors; whether the promiſe relate to the 'gift of the Holy Spirit, or of eternal life, 'or any grace or privilege tending to the 'obtaining thereof: It is neither our con-'cern, nor our intereſt to confine the 'mercies, and promiſes of God, to a 'more narrow or leſs compaſs than he 'is pleaſed graciouſly to offer and intend 'them; nor to have a light eſteem of 'them; but are obliged in duty to God, 'and affection to our children, to plead 'earneſtly with God, and uſe our utmoſt 'endeavours, that both ourſelves and our 'offspring may be partakers of his mer-'cies and gracious promiſes. Yet we 'cannot from either of theſe texts, col-'lect a ſufficient warrant for us to bap-'tize our children, before they are in-'ſtructed in the principles of the Chriſ-'tian Religion.

'FOR as to the inſtance in *little chil-'dren*; it ſeems by the diſciples *forbid-'ding* them, that they were brought up-'on ſome other account, not ſo frequent 'as baptiſm muſt be ſuppoſed to have 'been, if from the beginning believers 'children had been admitted thereto: 'and no account is given, whether their 'parents were baptized believers or not. 'And as to the inſtance of the Apoſtle; if 'the following words and practice may

'be taken as an interpretation of the 'ſcope of that *promiſe*, we cannot con-'ceive it does refer to infant-baptiſm; 'becauſe the text does preſently ſubjoin; '*then they that gladly received the word 'were baptized.*

'THAT there were ſome believing 'children of believing parents in the A-'poſtle's days, is evident from the Scrip-'tures, even ſuch as were then in their 'father's family, and under their parents 'tuition, and education; to whom the 'Apoſtle in ſeveral of his epiſtles to the 'churches, giveth commands *to obey their 'parents in the Lord*; and does allure 'their tender years to hearken to this 'precept, by reminding them, that it is '*the firſt command with promiſe.*

'AND it is recorded by him for the 'praiſe of *Timothy*, and encouragement 'of parents betimes to inſtruct, and chil-'dren early to attend godly inſtruction, 'that ἀπὸ βρέφους, *from a child, he had 'known the Holy Scriptures.* The Apoſtle '*John* rejoyced greatly, when he found 'of *the children of the elect lady* walking 'in the truth; and *the children of her e-'lect ſiſter* join with the Apoſtle in his 'ſalutation.

'BUT that this was not generally ſo, 'that all the children of believers were 'accounted for believers, as they would 'have been, if they had been all bap-

'tized, may be collected from the cha-
'racter which the Apoſtle gives of per-
'ſons fit to be choſen to elderſhip in the
'church, which was not common to all
'believers. Among others, this is ex-
'preſly one; *viz. if there be any having*
'*believing, or faithful children*, not ac-
'cuſed of riot or unruly. And we may
'from the Apoſtle's writings on the ſame
'ſubject, collect the reaſon of this quali-
'fication; *viz.* that in caſe the perſon
'deſigned for this office to teach and
'rule in the houſe of God, had children
'capable of it, there might be firſt a
'proof of his ability, induſtry and ſuc-
'ceſs in this work in his own family, and
'private capacity, before he was ordain-
'ed to the exerciſe of this authority in
'the church, in a publick capacity, as a
'biſhop in the houſe of God.

'THESE things we have mentioned
'as having a direct reference unto the
'controverſy between our brethren and us.
'Other things, that are more abſtruſe and
'prolix, which are frequently introduced
'into this controverſy, but do not neceſ-
'ſarily concern it, we have purpoſely a-
'voided; that the diſtance between us
'and our brethren may not be by us
'made more wide: For it is our duty,
'and concern, ſo far as is poſſible for
'us, retaining a good conſcience towards
'God,

'God, to ſeek a more entire agreement and reconciliation with them.

'We are not inſenſible, that as to the order of God's houſe, and entire communion therein, there are ſome things wherein we, as well as others, are not at a full accord among ourſelves. As for inſtance, the known principle and ſtate of the conſciences of divers of us, that have agreed in this confeſſion is ſuch, that we cannot hold church-communion with any other than baptized believers, and churches conſtituted of ſuch. Yet ſome others of us have a greater liberty and freedom in our ſpirits that way; and therefore we have purpoſely omitted the mention of things of that nature, that we might concur in giving this evidence of our agreement, both among ourſelves, and with other good Chriſtians, in thoſe important articles of the Chriſtian Religion mainly inſiſted on by us. And this notwithſtanding we all eſteem it our chief concern, both among ourſelves and all others, that in every place call upon the name of the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, both theirs and ours, and love him in ſincerity, *to endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace*; and in order thereto, to exerciſe *all lowlineſs and meekneſs, with long-ſuffering, forbearing one another in love.*

'And we are perſuaded, if the ſame me-
'thod were introduced into frequent prac-
'tice between us and our chriſtian friends,
'who agree with us in all the fundamen-
'tal articles of the Chriſtian Faith, tho'
'they do not ſo in the ſubject and adminiſ-
'tration of baptiſm; it would ſoon beget
'a better underſtanding, and brotherly
'affection between us.

'IN the beginning of the Chriſtian
'Church, when the doctrine of the bap-
'tiſm of *Chriſt* was not univerſally un-
'derſtood, yet thoſe that knew only the
'baptiſm of *John*, were *the diſciples of*
'the Lord Jeſus; and *Apollos* an emin-
'ent miniſter of the goſpel of *Jeſus*.

'IN the beginning of the reformation
'of the Chriſtian Church, and recovery
'from that *Egyptian* darkneſs, wherein
'our forefathers for many generations
'were held in bondage; upon recourſe
'had to the Scriptures of truth, different
'apprehenſions were conceived, which
'are to this time continued, concerning
'the practice of this ordinance.

'LET not our zeal herein be miſin-
'terpreted. That God whom we ſerve is
'jealous of his worſhip. By his gracious
'providence the law thereof is continued
'amongſt us; and we are forwarned by
'what happened in the church of the
'*Jews*, that it is neceſſary for every ge-
'ration, and that frequently in every ge-

'neration, to conſult the divine oracle, 'compare our worſhip with the rule, 'and take heed to what doctrines we re-'ceive and practiſe.

'IF the ten commands, exhibited in 'the *popiſh* idolatrous ſervice-book, had 'been received as the entire law of God, 'becauſe they agree in number with his 'ten commands, and alſo in the ſubſtance 'of nine of them; the ſecond command-'ment, forbidding idolatry, had been ut-'terly loſt. If *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had 'not made a diligent ſearch into the par-'ticular parts of God's law, and his wor-'ſhip; the feaſt of tabernacles, which 'for many centuries of years had not been 'duely obſerved, according to the inſti-'tution, though it was retained in the 'general notion, would not have been 'kept in due order.

'So may it be now, as to many 'things relating to the ſervice of God, 'which do retain the names proper to 'them in their firſt inſtitution; but yet 'through inadvertency, where there is no 'ſiniſter deſign, may vary in their cir-'cumſtances from their firſt inſtitution. 'And if by means of any ancient de-'fection, or of that general corruption 'of the ſervice of God, and interruption 'of his true worſhip, and perſecution of 'his ſervants by the antichriſtian biſhop 'of *Rome*, for many generations; thoſe

'who do consult the word of God, cannot yet arrive at a full and mutual satisfaction among themselves, what was the practice of the primitive Christian Church, in some points relating to the *worship* of God: Yet inasmuch as these things are not of the essence of christianity, but that we agree in the fundamental doctrines thereof; we do apprehend, there is sufficient ground to lay aside all bitterness and prejudice, and in the spirit of love and meekness, to embrace and own each other therein; leaving each other at liberty to perform such other services, wherein we cannot concur, apart unto God, according to the best of our understanding.'

THE great increase of the *Baptists*, and the many converts gained by the force of their arguments and the exemplariness of their lives, brought upon them many clamours and defamations; the chiefs were represented as Jesuits, Hereticks, and what not; many books were published, misrepresenting them.

THIS necessitated them to publish many Confessions of Faith; some in vindication of particular churches, others of particular persons, too numerous to be taken notice of in this history. I shall confine myself only to such as were put forth by congregated bodies. And as I have before ob-

observed, the *Baptists* in general consist of two parties, distinguished by the title of *general* and *particular*; so I find when the one have published a general Confession of their Faith, the other have soon after likewise done the same; both which I shall place in order of time, that so a just estimation of their principles, and their near coherence with the other Protestant parties in this kingdom may appear. This seems to me the best and only method to answer the many misrepresentations which have been published by their ill-natured opponents, both of their principles and practices.

In the year 1678, a Confession of Faith was agreed to, and signed, by fifty-four ministers and messengers of the churches, in the several counties of *Bucks*, *Hertford*, *Bedford* and *Oxford*, in behalf of themselves and many others; containing fifty articles, which they did most heartily and unfeignedly own, believe and profess, and desired through the grace of God to persevere in. It was soon after published under the title of, *An Orthodox Creed; or, a Protestant Confession of Faith; being an Essay to unite and confirm all true Protestants in the fundamental articles of the Christian Religion, against the Errors and Heresies of the Church of* Rome. But the same being too long to be contained in the Appendix

of

of this Volume, I ſhall place it in the Appendix of Vol. III. N°. I.

THE *Popiſh* plot * having fixed a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of the *Roman Catholicks*; the courtiers attempted to relieve them, by ſetting on foot a *Sham Proteſtant Plot*, and fathering it upon the *Preſbyterians*. For this purpoſe mercenary ſpies were employed to bring news from all parts of the town, which was then full of cabals. At length a plot was formed by one *Dangerfield*, a ſubtle and dangerous *Papiſt*, but a very villain. Who when he had informed the King and Duke of *York*, *That he had been invited to accept of a commiſſion; that a new form of government was to be ſet up; and that the King and Royal Family were to be baniſhed*; the ſtory was received with ſuch pleaſure, that he had a preſent, and a penſion of three pounds a week, to carry on his correſpondence. But in the end finding himſelf undone, if he perſiſted in what he could not ſupport, made an ample confeſſion of the whole matter: And publiſhed a Narrative, wherein he teſtified; *That he was employed by the* Popiſh *party, and chiefly by the* Popiſh *Lords in the* Tower, *with the Counteſs of* Powis, *to invent the* Meal-tub-plot, *which was to have*

* *Neal*, Vol. IV. *p.* 488.

thrown

thrown the Popiſh Plot *wholly upon the* Preſbyterians.

THE laſt Parliament being diſſolved abruptly, a new one was called this year; In which the elections went pretty much as before; the cry of the people, being, *no popery, no penſioners, no arbitrary government*. But the King prorogued them from time to time, for above a year, without permitting them to do buſineſs. The confuſion of the times brought the Parliament to an inclination to relieve the *Nonconformiſts*: And they appointed a committee, who agreed upon a *comprehenſion* with the *Diſſenters*; and thoſe that could not be comprehended within their terms, were to have a *toleration* and freedom from the penal Statutes, upon condition of ſubſcribing a declaration of allegiance, *&c.* and of aſſembling with open doors. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays *, there was a bill of comprehenſion offered by the Epiſcopal Party in the Houſe of Commons, by which the *Preſbyterians* would have been taken into the church; but that to the amazement of all people, their party in the houſe did not ſeem concerned to promote it, but on the contrary neglected it. Mr. *Neal* ſays †, the reaſon was, becauſe they found the bill would not Anno 1680.

* Vol. I. *p.* 495.
† Vol. IV. *p.* 496.

go;

go; or that if it had paſſed the Commons, it would have been thrown out by the Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords; the Clergy, as *Kennet* ſays, *being no farther in earneſt, than as they apprehended, the knife of the* Papiſts *at their throats.*

BUT while the Parliament, ſays Mr. *Neal* *, was endeavouring to relieve the *Diſſenters*, and charging the miſeries of the kingdom upon the *Papiſts*; many of the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, were pleaſed to ſee the *Court* enclined to proſecute the *Nonconformiſts*.

Rapin † repreſents the clergy in general, at this time, as attached to the Court and the intereſt of the Duke of *York*; and conſiders this as the occaſion of the *Diſſenters* charging the Church of *England* with being *popiſhly* inclined. He adds, that in the diſpoſition of the Court in favour of the *Papiſts*, ever ſince the beginning of this reign, or at leaſt ever ſince the Earl of *Clarendon*'s diſgrace, it may eaſily be imagined, that care had been taken, to introduce among the clergy, men of a doubtful religion, and from whom the Court had nothing to fear. And it is certain that even ſome of the better ſort who wrote againſt *Popery*, went ſo far into the court meaſures, as to charge the calamities of the times upon

* Vol. IV. *p.* 499.
† Vol. II. *p.* 718.

the

the *Nonconformists*, and to raiſe the cry of the populace againſt them. Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, who had wrote an *Irenicum* in favour of liberty, and againſt *impoſitions*, now turned about; and in his ſermon before the Lord-Mayor, *May* 2. intitled, *The Miſchief of Separation*, condemned all the *Diſſenters* as *Schiſmaticks*, and very gravely adviſed them not to complain of perſecution. When the ſermon was publiſhed, it brought upon the Doctor, ſays Mr. *Neal*, ſeveral learned adverſaries; as Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Alſop*, Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Barrett*, and Dr. *Owen*. From which laſt Divine, who wrote with great temper and ſeriouſneſs, I will venture, ſays he, to tranſcribe the following paſſage, without entering into the argument *:

'After ſo many of the *Nonconformiſts* 'have died in common goals; ſo many 'have endured long impriſonments, not a 'few being at this day in the ſame du'rance; ſo many driven from their ha'bitations into a wandering condition, 'to preſerve for a while the liberty 'of their perſons; ſo many have been 'reduced to want and penury by the 'taking away their goods, and from ſome 'the very inſtruments of their livelihood; 'after the proſecution that has been a'gainſt them in all Courts of Juſtice in

* Vol. IV. *p.* 500.

'this

'this nation, on informations, indict-
'ments and ſuits, to the great charge of
'all who have been ſo perſecuted, and
'the ruin of ſome; after ſo many mini-
'ſters and their families have been brought
'into the utmoſt outward ſtraits, which
'nature can ſubſiſt under; after all their
'perpetual fears and dangers, wherewith
'they have been exerciſed and diſquiet-
'ed. They think it hard to be cenſured
'for *complaining*, by them who are at
'eaſe.'

Anno 1681. THE King having parted with his laſt Parliament in diſpleaſure *, without being able to obtain any money, reſolved once more to try a new one. And apprehending that the malcontents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the city of *London*, he ſummoned them to meet at *Oxford*. The members for *London* being the ſame as before, had a paper put into their hands, by four merchants, in the name of all the citizens then aſſembled in common-hall; containing a return of their moſt hearty thanks, for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two laſt Parliaments, to ſearch into the depth of the *Popiſh* Plot, to preſerve the *Proteſtant* Religion, to promote an Union among his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* ſubjects, to repeal

* *Neal*, Vol. IV. *p.* 501.

the

the 35th of *Elizabeth*, and the *Corporation Act*, and to promote the *Bill of Exclusion*; and requesting their continuance of the same. The members being afraid of violence, were attended to *Oxford* with a numerous body of horse, having ribbons in their hats, with these words, *No popery, no slavery*; the citizens having promised to stand by them with their lives and fortunes. The Parliament revived the *Bill of Exclusion*. Upon which the King went suddenly, and not very decently, says *Burnet* *, to the House of Lords in a *sedan*, with the crown between his feet; and having put on his robes in haste, called up the Commons, and dissolved his fifth and last Parliament, after they had sat but seven days. As soon as his Majesty got out of the house, he rid away in all haste to *Windsor*, as one that was glad he had got rid of his Parliament, which was the last he called, tho' he lived three or four years after. And here was an end of the constitution and liberties of *England* for the present; all that followed, to the King's death, was no more than the convulsions and struggles of a dying man.

THE abject and servile flattery of the University of *Cambridge*, and others, in their addresses to the King, being not

* Vol. II. *p.* 499.

joined

joined by the *Nonconformists*, did neceſſarily bring down vengeance upon them, who were now doomed to ſuffer under a double character, as *Whigs* and as *Diſſenters*. Witneſſes were brought over from *Ireland* *, and employed to ſwear away men's lives. Spies were planted in all Coffee-houſes to furniſh out evidence for the witneſſes. Mercenary Juſtices were put into commiſſion all over the kingdom; juries were packed. And with regard to the *Nonconformiſts*, informers of the vileſt of the people, were countenanced to a ſhameful degree; inſomuch that the goals were quickly filled with priſoners; and large ſums of money extorted from the induſtry and labour of honeſt men, and put into the hands of the moſt profligate wretches in the nation.

THE Juſtices of *Middleſex* ſhewed great forwardeſs, and repreſented to his Majeſty, that an intimation of his pleaſure was neceſſary at this time, to the putting the laws in execution againſt *Conventicles* †; becauſe when a charge was lately given at the Council-board, to put the laws in execution againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*, no mention was made of ſuppreſſing *Conventicles*. Upon this, his Majeſty commanded the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Juſtices, to uſe their utmoſt en-

* *Burnet*, p. 501, 505, 506.
† *Neal*, Vol. IV. *p.* 507.

deavour

deavour to ſuppreſs all *Conventicles* and unlawful meetings, upon pretence of religious worſhip; for it was his expreſs pleaſure, that the laws be effectually put in execution againſt them, both in city and country.

IT was not in the power of the moderate Churchmen to relieve the *Nonconformiſts*, nor deliver them from the edge of the penal laws, which were in the hands of their enemies. All that could be done, ſays Mr. *Neal* *, was to encourage their conſtancy, and to write ſome compaſſionate treatiſes, to move the people in their favour, by ſhewing them, that while they were plundering and deſtroying their Proteſtant diſſenting neighbours, they were cutting the throat of the whole reformed religion, and making way for the triumphs of *Popery* upon its ruins. Among other writings of this ſort, the moſt famous was, *The Conformiſts Plea for the Nonconformiſts*, in four parts; *by a beneficed Miniſter, and a regular ſon of the Church of* England. In which the Author undertakes to ſhew. 1. The greatneſs of their ſufferings. 2. The hardneſs of their caſe. 3. The reaſonableneſs and equity of their propoſals for union. 4. The qualification and worth of their miniſters. 5. Their peaceable behaviour. 6. Their

* Vol. IV. *p.* 508.

agreement with the Church of *England* in the articles of her faith. 7. The prejudice to the Church by their exclusion. And then concludes, with an account of the infamous lives and lamentable deaths, of several of the *informers*. It was, says Mr. *Neal* * [and, indeed, really so it is] a rational and moving performance, but had no influence on the *Tory Justices* and tribe of *informers*.

MOST of the Clergy were with the Court, and distinguished themselves on the side of persecution. The pulpits every where resounded with the doctrines of *Passive-obedience* and *Non-resistance*: A *Mahometan* principle, says Dr. *Welwood* †, which since the times of that *Impostor*, who first broached it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world. No *Eastern* monarch, according to them, was more absolute than the King of *England*. They expressed such a zeal, says *Burnet* ‡, for the Duke's succession, as if a *Popish* King over a *Protestant* Country, had been a special blessing from heaven.

THERE was a great change made in the *Commissions* all over *England*. None were left, either on the bench, or in the militia, that did not go with zeal into the humour of the court. And such of the

* Vol. IV. *p.* 509.
† Memoirs, *p.* 112.
‡ Vol. II. *p.* 501.

clergy

clergy as would not engage in that fury, were declaimed againſt as *betrayers of the Church*, and ſecret favourers of the *Diſſenters*. But the truth is, ſays the Biſhop, *the number of ſober honeſt clergymen was not great*; for where the carcaſe is, the eagles will be gathered together: The ſcent of preferment, will draw aſpiring men after it.

UPON the whole, the times were very black at preſent, and the proſpect under a *Popiſh* ſucceſſor more threatning.

IT would fill ſome volumes to go into all the particulars of the unchriſtian proceedings that did attend the *Nonconformiſts*; and even too much, to attend thoſe that have particularly concerned the *Baptiſts*. But I muſt not paſs by the ſufferings of ſome of them, who at this time bore a teſtimony for liberty, and ſealed the ſame with their blood. And to do juſtice to the Reverend Mr. *Neal*, I muſt obſerve here, that he has treated the *Baptiſts*, where he has had occaſion to mention them in this volume, much more like a friend, than in his former volumes.

MR. *Francis Bampfield*, was a famous *Baptiſt*. He was in this reign firſt committed to *Dorcheſter* goal; and a conſiderable fine laid upon him, for preaching, praying, and refuſing to conform to the Church of *England*; in which place he was kept a *priſoner* above eight years.

Mr. Francis Bampfield *impriſoned at* Dorcheſter, *and fined.*

HE bore his long imprisonment with great courage and patience, being filled with the joys and comforts of the Holy Spirit. Nor did he cease to preach Christ, and promote his interest, by prayers and exhortations. And so successful was he in his labours, that he gathered a *Church* even in this place of confinement.

After eight years imprisonment is discharged Anno 1675.

UPON his being discharged from hence, in the year 1675. he went up and down in several *counties*, preaching the word as he had opportunity. But it was not long before he was taken up again, for preaching to a congregation in *Wiltshire*. He was apprehended and imprisoned at *Salisbury*. A certain fine or mulct being laid upon him, he continued in *prison* about eighteen weeks. From hence he writ *a Letter to the Saints*, which was quickly printed; wherein he gave a brief account of the occasion of his imprisonment, and declared what satisfaction and joy he had in his present sufferings for the sake of Christ. After his release from hence, he came to *London*: And the heat of persecution being somewhat abated, he here enjoyed liberty for several years to preach the Gospel, tho' privately; but with such success, that in a little time he gathered a people unto Christ, who submitted to *Believers Baptism*, and soon after entered into a *Church-State*, and hired *Pinners-hall* in *Broad-street*, for the meeting-place.

Is imprisoned again at Salisbury, *and fined.*

Is released and comes to London.

Hires Pinners-hall.

Which

Which being ſo publick, ſoon expoſed them to the rage of their perſecutors.

ON the 17th of *Feb.* 1682. when they were met together in the forenoon at their uſual hour, Mr. *Bampfield* being in the pulpit, a Conſtable with his ſtaff, and ſeveral men with halberts, ruſhed into the aſſembly. The Conſtable commanded him in the King's name to give over and to come down: To which he anſwered, that he was in the diſcharge of his office, in the name of the King of Kings. I have, ſaid the Conſtable, a warrant from the *Lord-Mayor* to diſturb your meeting. I have, ſays Mr. *Bampfield*, a warrant from Chriſt, who is *Lord Maximus*, to go on; and ſo did proceed in his diſcourſe. Then the Conſtable commanded one of the officers to pull him down. Upon which Mr. *Bampfield* repeated his text; the latter part of which was, *The day of vengeance is in his heart, and the year of the redeemed ones is come, and he would pull down his enemies.* After they had ſeized Mr. *Bampfield*, they carried him and ſix more before the *Lord-Mayor*. When the Conſtable had given an account to his Lordſhip, of the occaſion of his bringing theſe men before him; the *Lord-Mayor* examined him firſt, and afterwards the other ſix; after ſeveral of them were fined ten pounds a man, were bid to de-

Anno 1682.

Iſa. lxiii.

Is taken from thence with ſix more, and had before the Lord-Mayor.

Some fined 10 l.

part. And Mr. *Bampfield*, who was detained laſt, was ſoon after told he might be gone alſo.

IN the afternoon of the ſame day, they went to their meeting-place again, at the uſual time of aſſembling. As ſoon as Mr. *Bampfield*, and a few with him were gotten into the place, the officer immediately came, ſhut the door againſt thoſe that were without, and required thoſe within to depart. But they kept their places for ſome time; and took this opportunity to tell the officers, of the ſin and baſeneſs of perſecuting men thus for religion. This ſeemed to touch their conſciences; for they all declared their unwillingneſs to meddle in ſuch a work, but that they were by their places obliged to it.

HEREUPON *one* demanded of the Conſtable to produce his warrant for what he did, but it ſeems he had none; only he told them, he would ſend to the *Lord-Mayor* for one. At length no freſh warrant being produced, the Conſtable commanded one of the officers to pull Mr. *Bampfield* down from his pulpit: Who, after ſome time tremblingly, and with a pale face, took hold of him, and ſo led him out into the ſtreet, where there was a great number of people got together. The Conſtable not caring to proceed any farther, Mr. *Bampfield* with a great

great company went to his own houſe, and there performed thoſe duties of worſhip, which they deſigned to have done in their meeting-place.

ON the 24th of the ſame month, they met together again at *Pinners-hall*; but they had not long been aſſembled, and Mr. *Bampfield* in prayer, before another Conſtable with ſeveral officers ruſhed in upon them. Mr. *Bampfield* continued his prayer, till one of the officers came and pulled him away. Then they carried him under a guard of officers to the *Lord-Mayor*. As he went along the ſtreet, he carried his bible in his hand, expoſing it to the view of the people, who flocked after him in great numbers. He endeavoured briefly to declare, practically as well as verbally, that it was for the ſake of Chriſt and his word, that his liberty was taken away. When they came to the *Lord-Mayor*, he was gone to the Seſſions; and thither now they were reſolv'd to drag him The ſpectators as he paſſed along, paſſed different verdicts upon him; ſome condemning him, others ſpeaking in his favour. One called him a *Chriſtian Jew*; another ſaid, ſee how he walks with his bible in his hand, like one of the old Martyrs.

He is taken again, and had before the Lord-Mayor.

BEING brought to the Seſſions, after examination, he and three more were ſent to priſon. Next day in the afternoon, he

He with three more impriſoned.

was brought to the bar with three or four more, who were examined on the like case, and remitted to *Newgate*.

Anno 1683. ON the 17th of *March* 1683. he with some more who were committed for not taking the oaths of *allegiance* and *supremacy*, were brought before the Sessions-Court in the *Old-Bailey*; indicted, tryed, and by the Jury, directed by the Judge so to do, brought in guilty.

March 28. they were again brought to the Sessions to receive their sentence: And when at the bar, the *Recorder*, without asking whether they would take the oaths, or whether they had any thing to offer, why sentence should not be given against them; after odiously aggravating their not taking of the oaths, and casting reflections on scrupulous consciences, read the sentence; which was: *That they were out of the protection of the King's Majesty; that all their goods and chattels were forfeited during life; that they were to remain in goal during their lives, or during the King's pleasure.*

UPON this Mr. *Bampfield* would have spoken something. But there was a great uproar, crying, *Away with them, put them away from the bar, we will not hear them.* While they were thrusting them away, Mr. *Bampfield* said, *The righteous Lord loveth righteousness, the Lord be judge in*

this

this caſe. And then they were returned to *Newgate*, from whence they came.

MR. *Bampfield* being of a tender conſtitution, could not long bear the hardſhip to which they expoſed him. He was kept at his laſt trial, ten hours in the *Bail-dock*, a cold and loathſome place, where he received great hurt: And ſoon after died in *Newgate*, very much lamented by his fellow-priſoners, as well as friends and acquaintance. *Dies in Newgate.*

ONE of whom was Dr. *John Griffith*; who publiſhed his caſe under his own hand: Which is as followeth, *viz.* *Dr. John Griffith's caſe.*

'The caſe of Mr. *John Griffith*, miniſter of the Goſpel, and now priſoner in *Newgate*. Being a true and impartial account of what he ſpake at the *Seſſions-houſe* in the *Old-Bailey*, on the 18th day of this inſtant *April* 1683. before the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Saunders*, and three Judges more, the Lord-Mayor, Recorder, and ſeveral Aldermen of the City of *London*.

'ON the day and year aboveſaid, about four in the afternoon, Mr. *Bampfield* and myſelf were ſent for by the Court; and ſoon after we came were both brought to the inward bar. Mr. *Bampfield* was firſt required to take the *oath of allegiance*; it being again tendered him, according to the ſtatute in the third of King *James*. After ſome

diſcourſe

'discourse between the Judges and the 'Recorder, had with Mr. *Bampfield*, he 'refusing to swear, they made an end for 'that time with him.

'THE Clerk of the Peace, I took 'him to be, said unto me, Take off your 'glove. I asked him *what to do?* He an-'swered, *to lay your hand on the book*; 'which book he had in his hand, and 'held it out unto me. I then spake with 'a loud voice, *and said*, My Lord, I 'hope you will give me the liberty to speak 'for myself in my own defence. One 'of the Judges replied, that, my friend, 'meaning Mr. *Bampfield*, had spoke for 'me, or to that effect. I said again; 'that I desired to speak for myself, for I 'had other things to offer, as my reasons 'why I could not take that oath. Hav-'ing liberty granted, as I took it from 'their silence, I with an audible voice 'said unto them; I am in the Scripture 'commanded, when I take an oath, *to 'swear in truth and judgment, and in 'righteousness*; unto which the Church 'of *England* doth agree. It is one Article 'of their Faith, that he that taketh an 'oath, being required of the magistrate, 'ought to swear, so he do it *in truth, in 'righteousness, and in judgment*. Now 'for me to swear, as my duty is accord-'ing to the Scripture, and as the Church 'of *England* directs, I cannot, should I

Art. 39, *of the Church of* England.

'take

'take this oath; becauſe I cannot know, 'but muſt be ignorant of, what I bind 'my ſoul to perform; and then it is im- 'poſſible I ſhould ſwear *in truth, in judg- 'ment, and in righteouſneſs.*

'I CANNOT know, but muſt be ig- 'norant, both of what hereafter by law 'I may be required to do, and alſo to 'whom I ſwear to be obedient; for it is 'not poſſible I ſhould foreſee what laws 'may hereafter be made: And I do not 'only bind my ſoul to obey the King, 'that now is, but his heirs and ſucceſ- 'ſors alſo: And I know not what his ſuc- 'ceſſor may be; for ought I know he 'may be a *Popiſh* ſucceſſor, a *Papiſt*; 'and I cannot ſwear to obey laws not 'yet in being, nor to be obedient to a *Po- 'piſh* ſucceſſor. Therefore I cannot take 'the oath of allegiance.

'UPON theſe words there was a hum 'in the court. Which being ceaſed, af- 'ter a little pauſe, one of the Judges 'made this ſhort reply. I, ſaith he, 'doth he ſtick in there? I then went on, 'and ſaid, I cannot conform to the 'Church of *England*. Should I take this 'oath, I ſwear to conform; for I am 'bound by any oath to obey all the 'King's laws, as much thoſe laws which 'reſpect the worſhip of God, as thoſe 'relating to civil government: And then I 'am ſworn to hear Common-prayer once

'a

'a month. Here one of the Judges ſaid, '*ſo you are*; and to receive the Sacra-'ment with the Church of *England*, as oft 'as the law requires; yea, and to conform 'to all the rites and ceremonies of the 'ſaid Church. To this it was anſwered, '*ſo you are*; and not to frequent private 'meetings any more, for there are laws 'that forbid it. It was again anſwered, '*ſo you are.*

'THEREFORE I cannot take this 'oath.

'I THEN prayed the Judges to give 'me all their opinions, whether it were 'as I had ſaid or not. They anſwered 'with one conſent, as one man, that it 'was as I had ſaid, *viz.* that I did, in 'taking the oath, ſwear to obey all the 'King's laws without exception. Then 'I returned them thanks, that they were 'pleaſed to give me their opinion and judg-'ment in the caſe. And withal added 'theſe words: I am well ſatisfied and 'ſettled in my religion; and the more 'confirmed by what you ſaid: And if it be 'ſo, do with me what you pleaſe: Come 'life, come death, the Lord aſſiſting me, 'I will never take the oath of allegiance.

'THEN I deſired to ſpeak a few 'words more. Which being not denied, 'I ſaid; Be it known unto you, that I 'do not refuſe to take the oath of alle-'giance in any diſlike I have of any thing

'con-

'contained therein againſt the authority
'of the Pope, or the ſee of *Rome*; but
'do in all points therein with you agree.
'And further I do declare, that I do be-
'lieve the Pope hath no power, nor au-
'thority over the King's perſon, nor his
'government; no, nor over the meaneſt
'ſubject in his kingdom. And do yet
'further declare; that I believe in my
'conſcience, popery to be idolatrous,
'damnable and deviliſh. I was then had
'back again to the *Preſs-yard*, where
'I remain the Lord's priſoner; and am
'ready further to bear my teſtimony for
'him, againſt Antichriſt, the Pope, and
'See of *Rome*; and for his Holy Word,
'the purity of the Goſpel, and the or-
'dinances thereof, againſt *Popiſh* darkneſs,
'filthy idolatries, fornications, blaſphe-
'mies, and abominations, and all tradi-
'tions of men; as one made willing,
'through the free mercy and rich grace
'of God, my heavenly father, to forſake
'all for Chriſt, who hath loved me, and
'given himſelf for me; not counting
'my life dear to myſelf, ſo I may finiſh
'my courſe with joy, and the miniſtry
'I have received of the Lord *Jeſus*, to
'teſtify the Goſpel of the grace of God.
'Thus have I given an account of what
'I ſpake, and was ſaid to me, to the
'very beſt of my memory, though it
'may be not word for word. Yet for

'the

'the substance of what was spoke, it is 'true.'

John Griffith.

Mr. Thomas Delaune.

NOT long after this, the famous and learned Mr. *Thomas Delaune*, fell a sacrifice to the rage and malice of the persecuting clergy of those times; and by imprisonment lost his life.

HE was born at *Brini* in *Ireland*, about three miles from *Riggsdale*. His parents were *Papists* and very poor; they rented a part of the estate of ——*Riggs*, Esq; who observing the early and forward parts of young *Delaune*, placed him in a Friary at *Kilcrash*, about seven miles distant from *Cork*, where he received his education. When Mr. *Delaune* was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, he left the Friary and went to *Kingsale*, where he met with Mr. *Bampfield*, who then had a pilchard fishery in that place. He finding Mr. *Delaune* to be a young man of good parts and learning, took him into his service, and made him clerk of the fishery, and became the happy instrument of his conversion. He continued some years in great esteem and intimacy with Major *Riggs* and Mr. *Bampfield*; till thro' persecution and troubles he left *Ireland*, and went over to *England*. Meeting there with Mr. *Edward Hutchinson*, who was pastor of a congregation at *Ormond*,

but

but removed from thence on account of the troubles of the times, at length married his daughter *Hannah*, and went with her to *London*, where he fell into an intimacy and ſtrict friendſhip with Mr. *Benjamin Keach*, and tranſlated the *Philologia Sacra*, prefixed to his elaborate book in Folio, intitled, ΤΡΟΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ, *A Key to open Scripture Metaphors*, much eſteemed by the learned.

THE occaſion of Mr. *Delaune*'s laſt ſufferings was this; Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*, one of the King's Chaplains, having publiſhed the *London Caſes*, Mr. *Delaune* wrote an anſwer to one of them. For which he was apprehended, and committed to *priſon*; where the ſtraitneſs of his confinement caſt him into a diſtemper of which he ſoon died. And tho' the *Doctor* in his caſes pretended himſelf very deſirous of an anſwer, he never made the leaſt attempt to get him releaſed; but ſuffered him to be perſecuted with all imaginable violence, tho' he anſwered him ſo modeſtly, ſo like a Gentleman, and ſo like a ſcholar!

THUS, ſays Mr. *Pierce*, 'the champions of the church ſecured themſelves 'from being attacked by the *Nonconformiſts*; and wrote, when they could not 'be anſwered, with either convenience or 'ſafety. For the perſecuted condition of 'the *Nonconformiſts* deprived them of lei-

Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 259.

'ſure

'sure for writing; and if they wrote, 'they brought upon themselves fresh 'troubles and persecutions.' I would not be thought by any means, to reflect upon the Church of *England*, nor its *professors* in the present day, for actions committed by their *predecessors*. Facts are like the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, not to be obliterated; but according as they are good or bad, to stand upon *record*, for our imitation, or avoiding. I ever had a great value for the Church of *England*, tho' in conscience I could not conform to all her requirements; and have always esteemed it as the best constituted reformed national church in the world.

'Tis known and professed, says the *Author* of the preface to the *Plea* of the
P. 5. learned Gentleman now before me; 'That 'persecution merely for conscience is con- 'trary to the principles of the Christian 'Religion, and the doctrine of the Church 'of *England*. Who they were that per- 'secuted in those days, we all know, 'and with what real design: To destroy 'the church of *England* itself, is plain. 'How they acted all against the very 'principles of the church is plain. But 'that they acted under the church's au- 'thority, in her name, debauched her 'Clergy, to fall in with the hellish pro- 'ject; made use of her ecclesiastical 'Courts to put their wicked designs in

'execu-

'execution, till the world could hardly 'discover whether it was the Church's 'act and deed, or no, to the indelible 'scandal of the Clergy of those times; 'is a truth too plain to be debated.

MR. *Delaune* was apprehended *Nov.* 29. 1683. and by Sir *Thomas Jenner*, Recorder of *London*, committed to *Wood-street-Compter*, and put in amongst the common-side-prisoners, where he had a hard bench for his bed, and two bricks for his pillows. He was removed from thence by the *Recorder*'s warrant, committed to *Newgate*, and lodged amongst *felons*. Whose horrid company, says he, in his letter to Dr. *Calamy*, made a perfect representation of that horrible place, which you describe when you mention hell.

Sent to Wood-street-Compter, and removed to Newgate.

IN another letter to Dr. *Calamy*, he expresses himself thus:

'I HAVE no malignity against any 'person whatsoever; much less a-'gainst your church, or any of its mem-'bers. All I desire is, that scrupulous 'consciences, who trouble not the peace 'of the nation, should be dealt withal, 'at least, as weak brethren, according to '*Rom.* xiv. 1. and not ruined by penal-'ties, for not swallowing what is impos-'ed, under the notion of *decency* and *or-'der*, tho' excentrick to the scheme, we 'have of it, in our only rule of faith.

Narrative of Mr. Delaune's sufferings, p. 119. His letter to Dr. Calamy.

'Sir, I entreat you to excuse this 'trouble from a ſtranger, who would 'fain be convinced by ſomething more 'like *Divinity* than *Newgate*; where any 'meſſage from you, ſhall be welcome to

'*Your Humble Servant,*

'Thomas Delaune.

To this letter, in which are many things worthy of notice, but too long to be tranſcribed here, he received an anſwer to this effect: That if he had been impriſon'd upon the account of anſwering his book, he would do him any kindneſs that became him.

BUT how well the *Doctor* performed his promiſe, will appear in the ſequel.

SOME days paſſing, and Mr. *Delaune* hearing nothing from the *Doctor*, ſent him the following letter, written in *Latin*, but tranſlated thus:

Ibidem, p. 321.

Jan. 9, 1683.

'*Reverend Sir,*

Another letter to Dr. Calamy.

'WHAT you once and again 'preached, and then printed, 'reſpecting a doubtful conſcience, has 'loudly enough called all ſuch as were 'diſſatisfied about ſome rites and cere'monies, to examine the reaſons on both 'ſides.

'OTHERS

'OTHERS being ſilent, I obeyed you 'in that particular; not merely to wrangle, 'for the encounter is unequal, betwixt a 'man ſo eminent as you are, and ſo mean 'a perſon as I am; but that an occaſion 'may be given, in compliance to what 'you deſired, to conclude controverſies of 'this nature.

'IF merely for ſuch obedience I muſt 'be puniſhed, I know not how, nor in 'what manner; is there not a new way 'of conquering [ſcrupulous conſciences] 'unheard of in the Holy Scriptures, ſtart-'ed by ſome certain ring-leaders?

'I PURPOSED, from Holy Writ and 'approved writers, to examine what we 'ought to judge of theſe things. From 'that *light of our paths*, and from that *lanthorn*, *Pſal.* cxix. 105. I gathered 'ſome reaſons againſt thoſe various and 'multiplied errors, which have crept into 'the church. For that only thing am I 'brought to a *priſon*, where there is no-'thing amiable.

'WHETHER arguments of that kind 'will prevail to prove the ſuppoſitions in 'your ſermon, let the Supreme Judge 'determine.

'OR whether any of the doubting per-'ſons can that way be compelled into the 'ſpiritual ſheepfold, judge you: There is 'nothing againſt the King's Majeſty, no-'thing about the Civil Government, no-

'thing againſt the peace of this monar-
'chy there aſſerted.

'THE only diſpute is about the ori-
'ginal of rites and ceremonies, and ſome
'things, which under a ſhew of truths,
'though not righteouſly, are charged on
'doubting perſons. What the court will do
'with me, I know not: The will of the
'Supreme Father be done. Inward and
'outward peace in this, and everlaſting
'peace in the world [to come] to all
'ſuch as worſhip the Saviour of mankind,
'according to his word, is prayed for by

'*Thomas Delaune.*'

'I DESIRE you to return me ſome
'anſwer, becoming a Divine, by
'my beloved wife, as you have
'promiſed.'

To this letter he anſwered by word of mouth to his wife, for he gave none in writing: That he looked on himſelf unconcerned, as not being mentioned in the ſheet he ſaw with the *Recorder*. To ſatisfy which doubt, Mr. *Delaune* ſent him another letter, with the firſt ſheet of the book he was impriſoned for. Which was a plain demonſtration, that it was an anſwer to his call. The letter was thus:

Jan.

Jan. 14. 1683.

'SIR,

'WHEREAS in answer to my two letters, you said to my wife, 'that my papers no way concerned you, 'viz. such as I am indicted for. To satisfy you with respect to that matter, I 'here send you the first sheet; and leave 'you to consider, whether in pure generosity, you are not obliged to procure 'a *prisoner* (whose obedience to you made 'him so) his liberty.

Another letter to Dr. Calamy.

'I *am*, *Sir*,

'*Your Humble Servant*,

'Thomas Delaune.

'I APPEAL to your conscience, says Mr. *Delaune*, whether I had not 'some reason to expect some return to 'these applications? 'But I had none to any purpose. And 'that too but in few words by my wife. 'I had some thoughts, that you would 'have performed the office of a Di'vine, in *visiting* me in my place of 'confinement; either to argue me out 'of my doubts, which your promised 'Scripture and *Reason*, not a *Mitti'mus* or *Newgate*, could easily do. To 'the *former* I can yield. —— To the

latter it seems I must. —— This is a severe kind of *logick*; and will probably dispute me out of this world, as it did Mr. *Bampfield* and Mr. *Ralphson* lately; who were my dear and excellent companions in trouble.

ON the 10th of *Dec.* a Bill was found against him by the *Grand Jury* of *London*. And on the 13th day, he was called to the *Sessions-House* in the *Old-Bailey*, and his indictment was read, to which he pleaded, not guilty.

IN *January*, he was with Mr. *Bampfield*, and Mr. *Ralphson*, called again to the *Sessions-House*. But there being some trials that proved very tedious, theirs were not brought on at that time; but on the next day they were called to the outer bar; after the attendance, says Mr. *Delaune*, of divers hours, in a place not very lovely, and in the sharpest winter that you have known; which it is likely improved the original of that indisposition, which carried my two friends beyond the jurisdiction of *Sessions, Bail-docks*, or *Press-yards*, to a glorious mansion of rest.

MR. *Ralphson* was tried first, Mr. *Delaune* next. He desired his indictment might be read in *Latin*; which was done. The Gentlemen of the Law aggravated things in their usual rhetorick. One of them

them was pleased to say, that the prisoner that stood there before, did labour to undermine the *State*; and this man would undermine the *Church*. So that, to incense the Jury, he said, here's *Church* and *State* struck at. Nothing very improbable. For as Mr. *Delaune* himself observed, 'Tis 'wonderful, that any *Church* and *State* so 'potent as this, should fear two such underminers, as that extravagant harangue termed us.' In the end, he was found *guilty*. And the next day received his sentence. Which he has recorded as follows:

Whom Mr. Delaune thought to be the Attorney-General.

'*Thomas Delaune* fined 100 marks, *His sentence.*
'and to be kept prisoner, *&c.* [which,
'*&c.* they interpret till he pay his fine]
'and to find good security for his good
'behaviour for one whole year afterwards;
'and that the said books and seditious li-
'bels, by him published, shall be burnt
'with * fire, before the *Royal-Exchange*
'in *London*; and if he be discharged, to
'pay † six shillings.

Signed, *Wagstaff.*'

THIS book which this learned Gentleman wrote, and for which he so severely suffered, is entitled, *A Plea for the Nonconformists*. The Gentleman who prefixed a preface thereto, says,

* 'Not with water you must note.

† 'To the Hangman, for the faggots, I suppose.

Remarks on Mr. Delaune's sufferings.

'THIS book has been printed at leaſt 'ſeventeen times. And without doubt, 'if the adverſaries of the *Diſſenters* were 'for coming to the teſt, either of Scrip-'ture, reaſon or antiquity, it would be-'fore now have received ſome anſwer.

'TIS one of there own challenges ac-'cepted. The reaſons for our diſſenting 'are fairly, modeſtly, and cloſely appli-'ed. If ſaying nothing be taken *pro Confeſſo*, the Gentlemen of the Church 'of *England* would do well to conſider 'of ſome *mediums*, to defend Dr. *Calamy*, 'or ingenuouſly own he was fairly con-'futed.

'THERE remains nothing to be add-'ed to the argument, till ſome attempts 'to confute them ſhall make a rejoinder 'neceſſary: Nor, indeed, can the *Diſ-'ſenters* deſire to have their caſe more 'fairly ſtated, or the conduct of their 'adverſaries be more concurring to their 'juſtification.

'WHEN arguments drive the oppo-'nents into paſſions and exceſſes, like 'ſtrong purges; 'tis a proof of their ope-'ration, that they cauſe griping pains, in 'the very bowels of the patient.

'TO anſwer ſober arguments, with 'four coercives, to diſpute by the *gual* 'and the *bangman*, to debate by the pri-'ſon and not by the pen; theſe have been 'the peculiar of the party: And the

'power of perſecution, not of perſuaſion, 'has been the way of their uſage to the 'Diſſenters.

'THE treatment the reverend and 'learned *Author* of this book met with, 'will for ever ſtand as a monument of 'the cruelty of thoſe times. And they 'that affirm the *Diſſenters* were never 'perſecuted in *England* for their religi'on, will do well to tell us, what name 'we ſhall give to the uſage of this man 'of merit; than whom few greater ſcho'lars, clearer heads, or greater maſters 'of arguments, ever graced the *Engliſh* 'nation.

'I AM ſorry to ſay, he is *one* of near *eight thouſand Proteſtant Diſſenters*, that 'periſhed in priſon, in the days of that 'merciful Prince, King *Charles* II. and 'that merely for diſſenting from the 'church, in points, which they could 'give ſuch reaſons for, as this Plea aſ'ſigns; and for no other cauſe were 'ſtifled, I had almoſt ſaid murdered, in 'goals, for their Religion, in the days of 'theſe Gentlemen's power, who pretend 'to abhor perſecution.'

THE ſame Author declares, that he cannot conclude his preface, without giving the world the reſt of the hiſtory of this Gentleman, which it was impoſſible for him to give of himſelf.

'HIS

P. 11. ‘His sentence, says he, as the Reader ‘will find in his book, was a hundred ‘marks, the expensive prosecution, depriving him of his livelihood, which was a ‘Grammar-school, and long imprisonment, had made him not only unable ‘to pay his fine, but unable to subsist ‘himself and his family.

‘He continued in close confinement, ‘in the *prison* of *Newgate*, about *fifteen* ‘months; and suffered there great hardships by extreme poverty; being so entirely reduced by this disaster, that he ‘had no subsistence, but what was contributed by such friends as came to visit ‘him.

‘His behaviour in this distress was ‘like the greatness of mind, he discovered at his trial. And the same spirit ‘which appears in his writings, appeared ‘in his conversation, and supported him ‘with invincible patience under the greatest extremities. But long confinement ‘and distresses of various kinds, at last ‘conquered him. He had a wife and ‘two small children, all with him in the ‘prison; for they had no subsistence elsewhere. The closeness and inconveniencies of the place first affected them, and ‘all *there* by lingring sorrows and sickness, *died* in the *prison*. At last worn ‘out with trouble, and hopeless of relief, ‘and too much abandoned by those,

‘who

'who should have taken some other care
'of him, this excellent person, sunk un-
'der the burden, and died there also.
'I cannot refrain saying, such a *Cham-*
'*pion* of such a *cause*, deserved better u-
'sage. And it was very hard, such a
'Man, such a Christian, such a Scholar,
'and on such an occasion, should starve in
'a *dungeon*; and the whole body of *Dis-*
'*senters* in *England*, whose cause he died
'for defending, should not raise him 66 *l.*
'13 *s.* 4 *d.* to save his life.'

The opinion this *Author* had of this book, is summed up in a few words. 'The book, says he, is perfect of itself. 'Never *Author* left behind him a more 'finished piece; and I believe the dis-'pute is entirely ended. If any man ask 'what we can say, why the *Dissenters* 'differ from the Church of *England*, 'and what they can plead for it? I can 'recommend no better reply than this. 'Let them answer, in short, *Thomas* '*Delaune*, and desire the Querist to read 'the book.'

It was about this time, it pleased God to shew his displeasure against Apostacy, by pouring forth the vials of his wrath upon one Mr. *John Child*, a preacher of long standing among the *Baptists*. The Authors of the Narrative, intitled, *The Mischief of Persecution exemplified, by a true Narrative of the life and deplorable end of* John Child's Apostacy.

Mr.

Mr. John Child, *who miserably destroyed himself, Oct.* 13. 1684. which was published in the year 1688. in the Postscript annexed thereunto, declare: 'That 'it is a true and dreadful instance of a 'man scared into conformity, by the severity he saw on others, and in part felt 'himself; that the temptation met with 'his corruptions, which if his own 'charge on himself be not too severe, 'you see verified by his own papers. 'Yet this, say they, excuseth not the 'doctrine and practice of persecution: If 'so, Satan might wash his hands also of 'the sins of men. And tho' some men 'may know the beginnings of sin, yet 'none knows the bounds of it. So after his conformity, he drew his pen, 'and dipt it in gall against his brethren; 'going on to do violence to his conscience, till God in a dreadful manner awakened it against himself, so as proved terrible to all the beholders, as well 'as to himself.——We account it a loud 'voice against persecution; and durst not 'silence it, lest we should betray this 'witness of God against it. We know 'authorities of scripture and reason are 'best to work upon the judgment, to 'convince the world of the error of doing that to others, that would not they 'should do to them. But a fact of this 'nature may move the affections, and

'cor-

corroborate that light, that men receive from thence; And for this end it was at first intended to be published. It's a dreadful thing, not only to break in upon the civil rights of men, on account of religion; but far more to be instruments, to put any upon such ways, which not only endanger their peace of conscience here, but their eternal welfare hereafter. And this evil we are bold to charge persecution with, and have evidence enough for it in this very instance.

'WE hope, say they, we may without vanity say, that it's written with a temper suitable to the profession we have always made, of love and charity to those that differ from us. And tho' the face of affairs in this nation be since changed, thro' the goodness of God, and the gracious favour of his Majesty towards us; we purpose in all our actings to shew the same spirit and temper towards all Christians, of what persuasion soever. And we would by no means have this construction pass upon the publication of this *Narrative* at this time, as if we designed to make the Church of *England* odious, by refreshing the memory of so dreadful an accident, which was the natural effect of some of their persecutions. God is our witness, say they, our naked design being only to arraign

'the

'the practice of perſecution itſelf, with-
'out reflecting on any, who have been
'the inſtruments; hoping time, and this
'glorious deſign of his Majeſty, will
'have ſuch an happy iſſue, as to put all
'that profeſs to be the followers of
'Chriſt, into ſuch a condition, as to ſee
'it is their intereſt, as well as their du-
'ty, not to contend for perſecution.'

THIS Mr. *John Child* was a man of ſome conſiderable ſubſtance, good natural parts and ability, being much followed wherever he preached, both in the city and country; and ſo conceited of his abilities, that he feared not to diſpute with any man. 'In his judgment, ſays Mr. *Benjamin Keach*, he was a *Baptiſt*, being againſt infant's baptiſm, and for the baptiſm of believers. For many years he lived in *Buckinghamſhire*, near me, I being intimately acquainted with him for near thirty years. But a little before the laſt perſecution of *Diſſenters*, he removed his dwelling and came to *London*, and lived near to my habitation in *Paul's Shadwell*. Now the firſt time I came to fear him, was thro' ſome words he uttered to me, which was to this effect. *I have*, ſaid he, *ſeriouſly conſidered, whether there be any thing in religion worth ſuffering for.* Which words I wondred at from ſuch-a-one as he. But ſoon after he conformed,

Golden Mine, p. 48.

'(trou-

'(troubles rising high) and then wrote a 'cursed book, rendring the *Dissenters*, e-'specially the *Baptists*, very odious; cast-'ing reproaches upon their faithful mini-'sters, because some of them were not 'learned men, I mean with the knowledge 'of the tongues. And quickly after this, 'he fell under fearful desperation. I 'was one of the first men that he sent 'for; and I found him in a dismal state 'and condition; being filled with horror, 'saying, *he was damned*; and crying out 'against himself, for writing that book; 'saying, *he had touched the apple of God's 'eye.* I said all I was well capable to 'speak, to comfort him; but all in vain. '——— His poor wife, as I remember, 'intimated to me, that the very ends of 'the hair of his head, in the night-sea-'son, did stand in drops, thro' the an-'guish of his soul.

'THUS he continued, says Mr. *Keach*, 'for several months, under most dreadful 'horror and fearful desparation, until '*October* 13. 1684. when to put an end 'to his miserable life, he hanged himself, 'in his own hired house in *Brick-lane*, 'near *Spittlefields*, *London*, leaving a sor-'rowful widow and several children.' And farther adds: 'I am of opinion, that 'if any *Atheist* in the world, who had 'formerly known this man, had conver-'sed with him in his bitter agonies, he

'would

'would have ſeen ſufficient demonſtra-
'tions to have convinced him, that there
'is a dreadful God, or a power beſides
'and above nature, who can touch,
'ſhake and diſorder, and turn into con-
'fuſion, the ſtrongeſt conſtitution of bo-
'dy, by miniſtring and faſtning terrible
'things upon the ſoul. And, as he ſaith,
'let this *Pillar of Salt*, tend to warn and
'ſeaſon the people of this preſent and
'future ages, of the danger of ſinning
'againſt the light of their underſtanding.'

THE book Mr. *Child* publiſhed after his conformity to the Church of *England*, which did afterwards fill him with ſo great horror of ſoul, bore the title of as charitable an argument, as could be undertaken by the beſt of Chriſtians: *viz. A ſecond Argument, for a more full and firm union amongſt all good Proteſtants.*

'BUT though in this title, ſays Mr. *Plant* and Mr. *Dennis*, the Authors of the *Narrative*, 'his words were as the
Pſal. lv. 21. 'Pſalmiſt ſpeaks, *Softer than oil, yet*
'*were they drawn ſwords.* He put forth
'his hand againſt ſuch as were at peace
'with him, his equals, his acquaintance,
'who had walked with him to the houſe
'of God in company. The ſenſe where-
'of, when he was awakened to ſee, and
'feel in his own conſcience the heinouſ-
'neſs of his crime, in ſlandering his bre-
'thren, did ſo terrify him, that it could

'not

'not be diſcerned, (either by his relations 'or any of thoſe many of his brethren 'whom he had offended, who came to 'viſit him, and endeavoured to pour 'balm into, bind up, and heal his deep 'wounds) that at any time afterwards he 'enjoyed any peace in his ſoul.'

THE many conferences that were had with this man, and the papers on this ſubject that were left behind him, are publiſhed at large in the ſaid *Narrative*: To which I muſt refer the reader, being too much to be inſerted in this place.

THIS is not the only inſtance of the hand of God on *Apoſtates*: Some *Pædobaptiſts* have alſo been made publick examples. *Francis Spira*, having received the light of the Goſpel, became a teacher of the bleſſed truths thereof, amongſt his friends and familiar acquaintance. And (ſays the *Narrative*) in compariſon ſeemed to neglect all other affairs, much preſſing this main point of doctrine, *viz. That we muſt wholly and only depend on the free and unchangeable love of God in the death of Chriſt, as the only way of ſalvation.*

THE Pope's Legate, reſident at *Venice*, was ſtirred by the malice of the *Papiſts* to accuſe *Spira*. And by the craft and policy of the Legate, and thro' ſlaviſh fear, *Spira* firſt fled, and afterwards renounced his teſtimony to the truth. The Legate commanded him to return to his own town, and

there to confess and acknowledge the whole doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, to be holy and true, and to abjure the opinions of *Luther*, &c.

AFTER this, he signed an *Instrument of Abjuration*, and then fell under horrid desparation.

MELANCTHON that famous divine, makes mention of a certain man that was a servant, one that he knew, who for a while was a zealous professor of the Protestant Religion, but by the temptation of Satan fell from it; and some time after, having received the sacrament in the *Popish* manner, he fell under fearful despair, roaring out most horribly. *I have*, said he, *denied the Gospel, and am become the Devil's perpetual vassal.* And whilst the words were yet in his mouth, he suddenly flung himself headlong out of the window, and with the force of the fall, all his bowels gushed out.

MR. *John Fox*, in his acts and monuments, relates a sad story of one Judge *Hale*, who in Queen *Mary*'s time was a Protestant, but by the subtilty of the enemy, it was supposed he was overcome; and thereby fell under such horror of mind, that once or twice he did attempt to destroy himself with a knife, yet was prevented; but afterwards, which was in the year 1555, he cast himself into the river, and was drowned.

To

To conclude this reign, I shall only observe from the character given of the King by Dr. *Welwood* *; 'That his religion was Deism, or rather that which is called so. And if in his exile, or at his death, he went into that of *Rome*; the first was to be imputed to a complaisance for the company he was then obliged to keep; and the last to a lazy diffidence in all other religions, upon the review of his past life, and the near approach of an uncertain state.' *The character of King Char. II.*

'He was for the most part, says the Doctor †, not very nice in the choice of his mistresses, and seldom possess'd of their first favours: yet would sacrifice all to please them, and upon every caprice of theirs, denied himself the use of his reason, and acted contrary to his interest.

'No age, says he ‡, produced a greater master in the art of dissimulation; and yet no man was less upon his guard, or sooner deceived in the sincerity of others. If he had any one fixed maxim of government, it was to play one party against another, to be thereby the more master of both; and no Prince understood better, how to shift hands upon every change of the scene.

* Memoirs, *p.* 128.
† Ib. *p.* 129.
‡ Ib. *p.* 131.

'To sum up his character: he was dextrous in all the arts of insinuation, and had acquired so great an ascendant over the affections of his people, in spite of all the unhappy measures he had taken, that it may in some sense be said, that he died opportunely for *England*; since if he had lived, its probable, we might in compliance with him, have complimented ourselves out of all the remains of liberty, if he had but a mind to be master of them; which its but charity to believe he had not, at least immediately before his death.'

The End of the Second VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

NUMB. I.

A Declaration of FAITH *of* English *People, remaining at* Amſterdam *in* Holland: *Printed* 1611.

Wee BELIEVE *and* CONFESSE,

I.

THAT there are THREE which bear record in heaven, the FATHER, the WORD, and the SPIRIT; and theſe THREE are ONE GOD, in all equality: By whom all things are created and preſerved, in heaven and in earth. 1 John v. 7. Phil. ii. 5, 6. Gen. i.

II.

THAT this GOD in the beginning created all things of nothing, and made man of the duſt of the earth, in his own image, in righteouſneſs and true holineſs; yet being tempted, fell by diſobedience. Through whoſe diſobedience all men ſinned: His ſin being imputed unto all, and ſo death went over all men. Gen. i. 1. —— ii. 7. —— i. 27. Eph. iv. 24. —— iii. 1, 7. Rom. v. 12, 19.

III.

THAT by the promised seed of the woman, JESUS CHRIST his obedience, all are
Rom. v. 19. made righteous, all are made alive: His
1 Cor. xv. 22. righteousness being imputed unto all.

IV.

Eph. ii. 3. THAT notwithstanding this, men are by
Psal. li. 5. nature the children of wrath, born in iniquitie,
Jer. iv. 22. and in sin conceived: Wise to all evil, but to
1 Cor. ii. 14. good they have no knowledge. *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.* And therefore man is not restored unto his former estate: But that as man, in his estate of innocency, having in himself all disposition unto good, and no disposition unto evil, yet being tempted might yield, or might resist; even so now being fallen, and having all disposition unto evil, and no disposition or will unto any good, yet GOD giving grace, *man* may receive grace, or may reject grace,
Deut. xxx. 19. according to that saying, *I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: Therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live.*

V.

Eph. i. 4, 12. THAT GOD before the foundation of the
Mark xvi. 16. world hath predestinated that all that believe
Rom. viii. 29. in him shall be saved, and all that believe not shall be damned; all which he knew before. And this is the *election* and *reprobation* spoken of in the scriptures, concerning salvation, and condemnation; and not that GOD hath predestinated men to be wicked, and so to be damned,

damned, but that men being wicked, ſhall be damned; for GOD would have all men ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and would have no man to periſh, but would have all men come to repentance, and willeth not the death of him that dieth. And therefore GOD is the author of no mens condemnation, according to the ſaying of the prophet, Thy deſtruction, O *Iſrael*, is of thy ſelf, but thy help is of me.

1 Tim. ii. 4.
2 Pet. iii. 9.
Ezek. xviii. 32.
Hoſ. xiii. 9.

VI.

THAT man is juſtified only by the righteouſneſs of CHRIST, apprehended by faith; yet *faith without works is dead.*

Rom. iii. 28.
Gal. ii. 16.
James ii. 17.

VII.

THAT men may fall away from the grace of GOD, and from the truth, which they have received and acknowledged, after they have taſted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the HOLY GHOST, and have taſted of the good word of GOD, and of the powers of the world to come; and after they have eſcaped from the filthineſs of the world, may be entangled again therein, and overcome. That a righteous man may forſake his righteouſneſs, and periſh. And therefore let no man preſume to think, that becauſe he hath, or had once grace, therefore he ſhall always have grace. But let all men have aſſurance, that if they continue unto the end, they ſhall be ſaved. Let no man then preſume, but let all work out their ſalvation with fear and trembling.

Heb. xii. 15.
—— x. 26.
—— vi. 4, 5.
2 Pet. ii. 20.
Ezek. xviii. 24, 26.

VIII.

THAT JESUS CHRIST, the Son of GOD, the ſecond perſon or ſubſiſtance in the Trinity, in the fulneſs of time was manifeſted in the fleſh, being the ſeed of *David*, and of the *Iſraelites*, according to the fleſh, the ſon of *Mary* the Virgin, made of her ſubſtance, by the power of the HOLY GHOST overſhadowing her; and being thus *true man*, was like unto us in all things, ſin only excepted, being *one perſon* in two diſtinct natures, TRUE GOD, and TRUE MAN.

Rom. i. 3.
—— ix. 5.
Gal. iv. 4.
Luke i. 35.
Heb. iv. 15.

IX.

THAT JESUS CHRIST is mediator of the New Teſtament between GOD and man, having all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, being the only KING, PRIEST, and PROPHET of his Church: He alſo being the only Law-giver, hath in his teſtament ſet down an abſolute and perfect rule of direction, for all perſons, at all times, to be obſerved; which no prince, nor any whoſoever, may add to, or diminiſh from, as they will avoid the fearful judgments denounced againſt them that ſhall ſo do.

1 Tim. ii. 5.
Matt. xxviii. 18.
Luke i. 33.
Heb. vii. 24.
Acts iii. 22.
Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

X.

THAT the *Church* of CHRIST is a company of faithful people, ſeparated from the world by the word and Spirit of GOD, being knit unto the LORD, and one unto another, by *baptiſm*, upon their own confeſſion of the faith, and ſins.

1 Cor. i. 2.
Eph. i. 1.
2 Cor. vi. 17.
1 Cor. xii. 13.
Acts viii. 37.
Matt. iii. 6.

XI.

THAT though in respect of CHRIST the *Church* be one, yet it consisteth of divers particular congregations, even so many as there shall be in the world; every of which congregation, though they be but two or three, have CHRIST given them, with all the means of their salvation; are the body of CHRIST, and a *whole church*; and therefore may, and ought, when they are come together, to pray, prophesy, break bread, and administer in all the holy ordinances, although as yet they have no *officers*, or that their *officers* should be in prison, sick, or by any other means hindred from the church.

Eph. iv. 4.
Matt. xviii. 20.
Rom. viii. 32.
1 Cor. iii. 22.
—— xii. 27.
—— xiv. 23.
1 Pet. iv. 10.
—— ii. 5.

XII.

THAT as one congregation hath CHRIST, so hath all. And that the word of GOD cometh not out from any one, neither to any one congregation in particular, but unto every particular *church*, as it doth unto all the world: And therefore no *church* ought to challenge any prerogative over any other.

2 Cor. x. 7.
1 Cor. xiv. 36.
Col. i. 5, 6.

XIII.

THAT every *church* is to receive in all their members by *Baptism*, upon the confession of their faith and sins, wrought by the preaching of the gospel, according to the primitive institution and practice: And therefore *churches* constituted after any other manner, or of any other persons, are not according to CHRIST's testament.

Matt. xxviii. 19.
Acts ii. 41.

XIV.

THAT *baptiſm*, or waſhing with water, is the outward manifeſtation of dying unto ſin, and walking in newneſs of life; and therefore in no wiſe appertaineth to *infants*.

Rom. vi. 2, 3, 4.

XV.

THAT the LORD's Supper is the outward manifeſtation of the ſpiritual communion between CHRIST and the faithful, mutually to declare his death until he come.

1 Cor. x. 16, 17. —— xi. 26.

XVI.

THAT the members of every *church* or congregation ought to know one another, that ſo they may perform all the duties of love one towards another, both to ſoul and body. And eſpecially the *elders* ought to know the whole flock, whereof the HOLY GHOST hath made them overſeers. And therefore a *church* ought not to conſiſt of ſuch a multitude, as cannot have particular knowledge one of another.

Matt. xviii. 15. 1 Theſſ. v. 14. 1 Cor. xii. 25. Acts xx. 28. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

XVII.

THAT brethren impenitent in any one ſin, after the admonition of the *church*, are to be excluded the communion of the ſaints. And therefore not the committing of ſin doth put off any from the church, but refuſing to hear the church to reformation.

Matt. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4, 13.

XVIII.

THAT excommunicants, in reſpect of civil ſociety, are not to be avoided.

2 Theſſ. iii. 15. Matt. xviii. 17.

XIX.

THAT every *church* ought, according to the example of CHRIST's diſciples and primitive churches, upon every firſt day of the week, being the LORD's Day, to aſſemble together, to pray, propheſy, praiſe GOD, and break bread, and perform all other parts of ſpiritual communion for the worſhip of GOD, their own mutual edification, and the preſervation of true religion and piety in the *church*: And they ought not to labour in their callings, according to the equity of the moral law; which CHRIST came not to abolish, but to fulfil.

John xx. 19.
Acts ii. 42.
—— xx. 7.
1 Cor. xvi. 2.
Exod. xx. 8, &c.

XX.

THAT the *officers* of every *church* or congregation are either *elders*, who by their office do eſpecially feed the flock concerning their ſouls; or *deacons*, men and women, who by their office relieve the neceſſities of the poor and impotent brethren, concerning their bodies.

Acts xx. 28.
1 Pet. v. 2, 3.
Acts vi. 1, 4.

XXI.

THAT theſe *officers* are to be choſen when there are perſons qualified according to the rules in CHRIST's teſtament, by election and approbation of that *church* or congregation whereof they are members, with faſting, prayer, and laying on of hands. And there being but one rule for *elders*, therefore but one ſort of *elders*.

1 Tim. iii. 2, 7.
Tit. i. 6, 9.
Acts vi. 3, 4.
—— xiv. 23.
—— xiii. 3.
—— xiv. 23.

XXII.

THAT the *officers* of every *church* or congregation are tied by office only to that particular

Acts xiv. 23. — xx. 17. Tit. i. 5. ticular congregation whereof they are chosen: And therefore they cannot challenge by office any *authority* in any other congregation whatsoever, except they would have an *apostleship*.

XXIII.

2 Tim. iii. 16. John v. 39. THAT the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are written for our instruction; and that we ought to search them, for they testify of CHRIST; and therefore to be used with all reverence, as containing the holy word of GOD, which only is our direction in all things whatsoever.

XXIV.

THAT *magistracy* is a holy ordinance of GOD; that every soul ought to be subject to it, not for fear only, but for conscience sake. *Magistrates* are the ministers of GOD for our wealth, they bear not the sword for nought. They are the ministers of GOD, to take vengeance on them that do evil. That it is a fearful sin to speak evil of them that are in dignity, and to despise government. We ought to pay tribute, custom, and all other duties. That we are to pray for them; for GOD would have them saved, and come to the knowledge of his truth. And therefore they may be members of the *church* of CHRIST, retaining their magistracy; for no ordinance of GOD debarreth any from being a member of CHRIST's church. They bear the sword of GOD; which sword, in all lawful administrations, is to be defended and supported by the servants of GOD that are under their government, with their lives, and all that they have, according as in the first institution

Rom. xiii. 2 Pet. ii. 10. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 4.

of that holy ordinance. And whosoever holds otherwise, must hold, if they understand themselves, that they are the ministers of the devil, and therefore not to be prayed for, nor approved, in any of their administrations; seeing all things they do, as punishing offenders, and defending their countries, state, and persons by the sword, is unlawful. That it is lawful in a just cause, for the deciding of strife, to take an *oath* by the Name of the LORD. Heb. vi. 16. 2 Cor. i. 23. Phil. i. 8.

XXVI.

THAT the dead shall rise again, and the living be changed in a moment; having the same bodies in substance, though diverse in qualities. 1 Cor. xv. 52. Job xxxviii. 19. — xv. 28. Luke xxiv. 30.

XXVII.

THAT after the resurrection, all men shall appear before the judgment-seat of CHRIST, to be judged according to their works. That the godly shall enjoy life eternal: The wicked, being condemned, shall be tormented everlastingly in hell. Matt. xxv. 46.

NUMB. II.

A most Humble SUPPLICATION *of many of the King's Majesty's Loyal Subjects, ready to testify all Civil Obedience, by the Oath of Allegiance, or otherwise, and that of Conscience; who are persecuted (only for differing in Religion) contrary to Divine and Human Testimonies: As followeth.* Printed 1620.

To the High and Mighty KING JAMES, *by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Our Sovereign Lord on Earth.*

To the Right Excellent and Noble PRINCE CHARLES, *Prince of* Wales, *&c.*

To all the Right Honourable NOBILITY, *Grave and Honourable* JUDGES, *and to all other the Right Worshipful* GENTRY, *of all Estates and Degrees, assembled in this present* Parliament.

Right High and Mighty, } *Right Honourable,*
Right Excellent and Noble, } AND *Right Worshipful.*

AS the consideration of that divine commandment of the King of kings (*Let supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty*) doth cause in us a daily practice thereof in our secret

ſecret chambers for you all, as in duty we are bound, of which the ſearcher of all hearts beareth us witneſs; ſo let it be pleaſing unto your Majeſty, and the reſt in authority, that we make humble ſupplications and prayers to you, for ſuch our bodily miſeries and wants as are upon us, in that it is in your power to redreſs them; and eſpecially at this preſent, in this high meeting, aſſembled for the publick weal of all your loyal ſubjects. Our miſeries are long and lingring impriſonments for many years, in divers counties of *England*, in which many have died and left behind them widows, and many ſmall children; taking away our goods, and others the like, of which we can make good probation; not for any diſloyalty to your Majeſty, nor hurt to any mortal man, (our adverſaries themſelves being judges) but only becauſe we dare not aſſent unto, and practiſe in the worſhip of God ſuch things as we have not *faith* in, Heb. xi. 6.
becauſe *it is ſin againſt the Moſt High*, Rom. xiv. 23.
as your Majeſty well obſerveth in theſe words; *It is a good and ſafe rule in theology, Med. on Lord's Prayer.*
that in matters of the worſhip of God, Quod dubitas, ne feceris, according to *Paul's* rule:
Let every man be fully perſuaded in his own Rom. xiv. 5.
mind. If we were in error herein, theſe courſes of afflicting our bodies for conſcience-cauſe, are not of *Chriſt*, but of *Antichriſt*, as hereafter is moſt plainly ſhewed; and if no *church* be the rule of faith, *but only the Holy Scriptures*, as the learned *Proteſtants* do truly confeſs, and that therefore the doctrine of the church of *Rome* (that all muſt believe as the church believes, and ſo practiſe, or elſe be cruelly perſecuted) be moſt ungodly, as it is;

then how can they avoid the like cenſure, that practiſe the ſame thing, contrary to their own judgment? For the learned *Proteſtants* do ſay, it is high cruelty for the *Papiſts* to conſtrain them to practiſe thoſe things in God's worſhip, which we have not *faith* in, nay, which they know to be evil, with impriſonment, fire, and faggot. And therefore why may not we ſay, it is great cruelty for the learned *Proteſtants* to conſtrain us to practiſe thoſe things in God's worſhip, which we have not faith in? Nay, which we certainly know to be evil, with lingring impriſonment, loſs of goods, and what other cruelties they can procure againſt us, of your Majeſty, and the civil ſtate. If your learned ſay, they have the truth, and we are in error; that reſteth to be tried by the true touchſtone, the holy ſcriptures. *If they* [the learned] *be our judges, the verdict muſt needs go againſt us.* If their ſayings be a ſafe rule for us to be ſaved by, we will reſt upon them: And then, why may not the ſayings of the *Papiſts* be ſure alſo, and they be the *Proteſtants* judges, and ſo bring us all to believe as the church believes? The iniquity of which we have diſcover'd as briefly as we could; beſeeching your Majeſty, and all that are in authority, to hear us. *It concerneth our eternal ſalvation, or condemnation, and is therefore of great importance: For what can a man give for the ranſom of his ſoul?* Oh be pleaſed to remember the ſaying of that great and good man *Job*: *I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherleſs, and him that had none to help him. The bleſſing of him that was ready to periſh came upon me: And I cauſed the widows heart to rejoice.*

Job xxix. 12, 13.

I was a father to the poor, and when I knew not the cauſe, I ſought it out diligently. I brake alſo the jaws of the unrighteous man, and plucked the prey out of his teeth. Job xxix. 16, 17.

Our prayers are, and ſhall be for you day and night, to that *God of glory*, by whom you reign and are advanced, that *he* will put it into your heart, to let theſe things enter into your thoughts; and then we doubt not (the evidence of them being ſuch) that you will be moved to repeal and make void all thoſe cruel laws (which we moſt humbly beſeech) that perſecute poor men, only for matters of conſcience: Not that we any way deſire for our ſelves, or others, any the leaſt liberty from the ſtrict obſervation of any civil, temporal or human law, made or to be made, for the preſervation of your Majeſty's perſon, crown, ſtate, or dignity; for, *all that give not to* Cæſar *that which is his*, let them bear their burthen; but we only deſire, *that God might have that which is his*, which is the *heart* and *ſoul*, in that worſhip that he requireth, over which *there is but one Lord*, and *one Law-giver, who is able to ſave it, or to deſtroy it*, which no mortal man can do. It is not in your power to compel the heart; you may compel men to be hypocrites, as a great many are, who are falſe-hearted both towards God and the ſtate; which is ſin both in you and them. The vileneſs of perſecuting the body of any man, only for cauſe of conſcience, is againſt *the word of God*, and *law of Chriſt*. It is againſt the profeſſion of *your Majeſty*; againſt the profeſſion and practice of *famous princes*; the *ancient and later approved writers witneſs againſt it*; ſo do the *Puritans*, Eph. iv. 5. James iv. 12.

yea,

yea, the eſtabliſhers of it, the *Papiſts themſelves*, inveigh againſt it: So that God and all men do deteſt it, as is herein ſhewed. And therefore, in moſt humble manner, we do beſeech your Majeſty, your Highneſs, your Honours, your Worſhips, to conſider of it, and do as God directeth you in his
Matt. xiii. 30. word, that cannot lye: *Let the wheat and tares grow together in the world, until the harveſt.*

And ſo in humble manner we proceed.

CHAP. I.

The rule of faith is the doctrine of the Holy Ghoſt, contained in the ſacred ſcriptures, and not any church, council, prince, or potentate, nor any mortal man whatſoever.

PROVED by the ſcriptures themſelves, which are the writings of *Moſes*, and the *Prophets*, the *Evangeliſts*, and *Apoſtles*: Theſe are a ſufficient rule alone, to try all faith and religion by. Our reaſons are,
2 Tim. iii. 15, &c. 1. *They are inſpired of God, and are able to make us wiſe unto ſalvation, and perfect to every good work.* 2. Becauſe theſe writings
Luke i. 4. are written, *that we might have certainty of the things whereof we are inſtructed. That*
1 John i. 4. *our joy might be full. And that we might*
John xx. 31. *believe, and in believing might have life.*
1 Cor. iv. 6. 3. We are commanded *not to preſume* (or be wiſe) *above what is written.* For with
Matt. iv. 4. this weapon *Chriſt put to flight the devil*;
Luke xxiv. 27. and *taught his diſciples*; and *Paul taught*
Acts xvii. 2. *Chriſt Jeſus.* The godly are commended

for

for ſearching the ſcriptures. All are commanded *to ſearch them.* And *they that will not believe theſe writings, will not believe* Chriſt's *words; nor one that ſhould come from the dead.* If any aſk, how we know all, or any of theſe ſcriptures to be inſpired of God? We anſwer, *The ear diſcerneth words, and the mouth taſteth meat for it ſelf.* And as the eye diſcerneth the light of the ſun, ſo doth our ſpirit diſcern theſe ſcriptures to be inſpired of God, and that for theſe reaſons. 1. In regard of the majeſty, wiſdom, and grace of them, above all other writings: For there is as great glory in theſe ſcriptures, as in the making of this *wonderful world*, which is moſt evidently diſcerned. 2. By their teachings; which excelleth all human teachings, leading us from Satan, from this world, and our ſelves, to God, in holineſs, faith, love, fear, obedience, humility. 3. The true events of them, or fulfilling of the prophecies contained in them. 4. The conſent and agreement of all the parts of them; the like whereof cannot be ſhewed, of ſo many ſeveral writers, ſince the world began. 5. The admirable preſervation thereof, againſt time and tyrants; all which could not extinguiſh them. 6. The devil and his inſtruments rage againſt thoſe that practiſe the doctrines contained in them. 7. The converſion of thouſands to God, by the power of their doctrine. 8. The vengeance that hath come upon ſuch as have not obeyed them. 9. The acknowledgment of them, by the very profeſſed adverſaries thereof. 10. The miracles confirming them from heaven. 11. The ſight of a Saviour to man, is only by and from them. And laſtly, The ſim-

Acts xvii. 11. John v. 39. —— v. 47. Luke xvi. 31. Job xii. 11. Heb. xi. 1.

simplicity of the writers, and plainness of the
1 Cor. i. writings; for God hath chosen the mean, contemptible, and despised, to manifest unto the world his mysteries. These are sufficient to persuade, that these holy writings are inspired of God; and so able to make wise unto salvation, and perfect to every good work. These scriptures contain the law and testimony; and if any church, council, prince, or
Isa. viii. 20. potentate, *speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.* And
Gal. i. 8, 9. we are *commanded to hold them accursed.* For *whosoever shall add unto these things,* God shall add the plagues written herein: And,
Rev. xxii. *Whosoever shall take away from these things, God shall take his name out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from those things that are written.*

Much by us shall not need to be written on this subject, the thing is so evident, and so generally acknowledged; at least in words (excepting the *Papists*, with whom we have not here to do) Only we will add some human testimonies.

White's *Way to the Church, dedicated to two bishops,* Page 12. The learned Protestants affirm and prove, that it is the doctrine of the church of *England*, Art. 6. *That the scripture comprehended in the Old and New Testament, is the rule of faith so far, that whatsoever is not read therein, nor cannot be proved thereby, is not to be accepted as any point of faith, or needful to be followed;* but *by it, all doctrines taught, and the churches practice, must be examined;* and *that rejected, which is contrary to it, under what title or pretence soever it come unto us.* And further, they say, *That the*
Page 1. *Pope, or any mortal man, should be the rule, that*

that muſt reſolve in queſtions and controverſies of faith, is an unreaſonable poſition, void of all indifferency; when common ſenſe teacheth, that he that is a party cannot be judge. And again; *Which is the church is controverſal; which is the ſcriptures is not; therefore let that be the rule which is out of doubt.* And again; *The ſcriptures contain the principles of our faith,* and *ſhall we not believe them?* or *cannot we know them infallibly of themſelves, without we let in the authority of the church?* This, and much more, the learned *Proteſtants* have written, and ſufficiently confirmeth, that no church, nor man whatſoever, may be the judge, rule or umpire in matters of faith, but only the holy ſcriptures; and whoſoever teacheth, and practiſeth otherwiſe, they muſt hold and maintain the *Papiſts* creed, or *Collier*'s faith, which the *Proteſtants* ſo much in words deteſt, and mention out of *Staphilus* his *apology*, thus, *The Collier being at the point of death, and tempted of the Devil, what his faith was? anſwered, I believe and die in the faith of Chriſt's church.* Being again demanded, what the faith of Chriſt's church was? *That faith,* ſaid he, *that I believe in. Thus the Devil getting no other anſwer, was overcome and put to flight. By this faith of the Collier, every unlearned man may try the ſpirits of men, whether they be of God or no; by this faith he may reſiſt the Devil, and judge the true interpretation from the falſe, and diſcern the Catholic from the heretical miniſter, the true doctrine from the forged.*

White, p. 17.

Page 6.

If the anſwer of the *Collier* and the *Papiſts* concluſion upon it be not ſound, but deteſta-

ble, as the *Proteſtants* confeſs, and cry *wo* unto the *Papiſts* for the ſame, and that juſtly; then is it no leſs deteſtable in the *Proteſtants*, or any other to require, or any to yield ſo far in religion and faith, that upon ſuch a temptation he hath no better anſwer to make than as the *Collier*, to ſay, *I believe and die in the faith of the church*, or *of the prince*, or *of the learned*; for being demanded what that faith is? If he be not able to prove it by God's word, contained in the ſcriptures, it is no better nor no other than the anſwer of the *Collier*, *The faith that I believe in*. Oh how many millions of ſouls in this nation, not *Papiſts* but *Proteſtants*, live and die, and have never other faith than this, whereunto they are conſtrained and compelled by perſecution, without either faith or knowledge.

CHAP. II.

The interpreter of this rule is the ſcriptures, and Spirit of God in whomſoever.

THE next thing, as the immediate queſtion from this former, is, Who muſt interpret this rule? becauſe, as is objected, *There are many dark places in it, hard to be underſtood*. Unto which we anſwer, The two witneſſes of God ſhall be the only interpreters thereof; which are, the Word of God contained in the ſame ſcriptures, and the Spirit of God; ſo are they called. *Firſt*, For the ſcriptures themſelves; though ſome doctrines, in ſome places, be dark and obſcure, as *Peter* ſpeak-

2 Pet. iii.

John xv. 26, 27.

Acts v. 32.

ſpeaketh, yet the ſelf ſame doctrines, in other places, are plain and manifeſt. For, *all the words of the Lord are plain to him that will underſtand, and ſtraight to them that would find knowledge.* And *knowledge is eaſy to him that will underſtand.* *Secondly,* The Spirit of God, ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, *It is the Spirit that beareth witneſs: for the Spirit is truth.* But *the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghoſt, whom the father will ſend in my name, he ſhall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance which I have told you. Howbeit, when he is come, which is the Spirit of truth, he will lead you into all truth: for he ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf, but whatſoever he ſhall hear, ſhall he ſpeak, and he will ſhew you of the things to come. For the Spirit ſearcheth all things, even the deep things of God. For the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. But the anointing that ye have received of him, dwelleth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the ſame anointing teacheth you of all things, and it is true, and is not lying, and as it hath taught you; you ſhall abide in him. Hereby we know that he abideth in us, even by the Spirit that he hath given us. For to one is given by the Spirit, the word of wiſdom; and to another the word of knowledge, by the ſame Spirit.*

Prov. viii. 9.
— xiv. 6.
1 John ii. 6.
John xiv. 26.
— xvi. 3.
1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.
1 John ii. 27.
— iii. 24.
1 Cor. xii. 8.

The ſcriptures be ſo plain in this, that the greateſt adverſaries thereof do acknowledge the truth of it; only herein lieth the difficulty; who it is that hath this Spirit of God to interpret the ſcriptures; which is this ſure rule? which in the next place is to be handled.

CHAP. III.

That the Spirit of God, to underſtand and interpret the ſcriptures, is given to all and every particular perſon that fear and obey God, of what degree ſoever they be; and not to the wicked.

Pſal. xxv. 12, 14. PRov'd, *What man is he that feareth the Lord, him will he teach the way that he ſhall chooſe. The ſecret of the Lord is revealed to them that fear him, and his covenant to give*
—— cvii. 43. *them underſtanding. Who is wiſe that he may obſerve theſe things, he ſhall underſtand the*
Dan. xii. 10. *loving kindneſs of the Lord. None of the wicked ſhall have underſtanding; but the wiſe ſhall un-*
Amos iii. 7. *derſtand.* For *God will do nothing; but he re-*
Pſal. cxix. 99. *vealeth his ſecrets to his ſervants. I have had more underſtanding than all my teachers, and than all the ancients; becauſe I kept thy pre-*
Prov. xxviii. 7. *cepts: For he that keepeth the law is a child of*
John xiv. 15, 23. *underſtanding. If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you the ſpirit of truth. If any man love me he will keep my word; and my Father and I will come unto him, and will dwell*
—— vii. 17. *with him. If any man will do his will, he ſhall know of the doctrine whether it be of God or*
Acts v. 32. *no. Yea, and the Holy Ghoſt, whom God hath*
Luke xxi. 15. *given to all that obey him. I will give you* (my diſciples that obey me, and ſuffer for
—— xii. 12. my ſake) *a mouth and wiſdom,* &c. *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall teach you what ye ſhall ſay.* For,
Matt. x. 20. *It is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of*
Mark iv. 11. *my Father that ſpeaketh in you.* And, *to you* (my followers) *is given to know the myſteries*

of

of the kingdom of God; but not to them that are without: For the myſtery of the goſpel is made manifeſt to the ſaints. Col. ii. 2.

THE church and ſaints of God have revealed unto them *by the Spirit*, the things *that eye hath not ſeen*, &c. And *they have received the Spirit of God, that they might know the things that are given them of God.* But *the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are fooliſhneſs to him: neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned. But he that is ſpiritual diſcerneth all things*, &c. 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10, 14.

HENCE it is moſt plain to whom the Spirit of God is given; even to every particular ſaint of God. And *it is no private ſpirit*; but even *the publick Spirit of God*, which is in him, which enableth him to underſtand, and ſo to declare the things given him of God. That is, a *private ſpirit*, that is not of God, though it be in multitudes; but the Spirit of God, though but in one ſaint, is not private. God's Spirit is not private; for it is not comprehended only within one place, perſon, or time, as man's is; but it is univerſal and eternal; ſo is not man's: Therefore man's is private, though they be many; God's is publick, though but in one Perſon. 2 Pet. i. 20.

CHAP. IV.

Thoſe that fear and obey God, and ſo have the Spirit of God to ſearch out and know the mind of God in the ſcriptures, are commonly, and for the moſt part, the ſimple, poor, deſpiſed, &c.

Matt. xi. 5, 25. PRov'd. Our Saviour ſaith, *The poor receive the goſpel*; and *I thank thee, Father, becauſe thou haſt opened theſe things unto babes; it is ſo, O Father, becauſe thy good* James ii. 5. *pleaſure was ſuch. Hearken my beloved brethren, Hath not God choſen the poor of this world that they ſhould be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promiſed?* 1 Cor. i. 26, &c. *Brethren, you ſee your calling, that God hath choſen the fooliſh of this world, the weak of this world, the vile of this world and deſpiſed, and which are not.* God's dealing is, *to* Prov. i. 4. *give unto the ſimple ſharpneſs of wit, and to the* John iii. 8. *child knowledge and diſcretion. The ſpirit bloweth where it liſteth*, and is not ty'd to the 1 Kings xxii. learned. Poor perſecuted *Micaiah* had the truth againſt four hundred of king *Ahab*'s prophets. So had *Jeremiah* againſt all the prieſts and prophets of *Iſrael*. The Lord of life himſelf, in his fleſhly being, What was he, but a man full of ſorrows? in his birth, Luke ii. 7. laid in a cratch, becauſe *there was no room* Mark vi. 3. *for him in the inn*. A carpenter by trade: Matt. viii. 20. *Having not a hole to reſt his head in*. And in his death, contemned and deſpiſed. His Apoſtles, in like manner, what were they, but mean men, *fiſhermen, tentmakers*, and 1 Cor. iv. 11. ſuch like, *having no certain dwelling place*,

which

which the worldly-wise, Scribes and Pharisees took notice of, and reproachfully said; *Doth any of the rulers, or of the Pharisees believe in him?* But *this people that know not the law are accursed.* John vii. 48, 49.

THE truth of this is as plain as may be; that the scriptures being the rule of faith, perfect and absolute, and that the plainness of them is such, as by the Spirit of God they may be easily understood of those that fear and obey God, but of none else, and that such are most commonly the poor and despised; for, *if any man want wisdom* (be he never so simple) *let him ask of God, and he will give him.* James i. 5. Which is also confirmed by human testimonies.

THE *Protestants* confess, That *in the primitive church, the doctrines, and several points of religion, were known and discovered by the most mean of the people, and the bishops exhorted them thereunto,* &c. White, p. 7. Also that *this rule is of that nature, that it is able to direct any man, be he never so simple; yea, the most unlearned alive may conceive and understand it sufficiently for his salvation.* Page 9.

AND they relate the sayings of the ancients in this thing. First, *Clemens Alexandrinus. The word is not hid from any; it is a common light that shineth unto all men; there is no obscurity in it: Hear you it, you that be far off, and you that be nigh.* Page 12. Next him *Austin, God hath bowed down the scriptures to the capacity of babes and sucklings; that where proud men will not speak to their capacity, yet himself might.* After him *Chrysostom. The scriptures are easy to understand, and exposed to the capacity of every servant, and plowman, and wi-*

dow, and boy, and him that is most unwise. Therefore God penned the *scriptures* by the hands of *publicans, fishermen, tentmakers, shepherds, neatherds,* and unlearned men; that none of the *simple* people might have any excuse to keep them from reading, and that so they might be easy to be understood of all men; the *artificer,* the *house-holder* and *widow woman,* and *him* that is *most unlearned.* Yea, the *Apostles* and *Prophets,* as schoolmasters to all the world, made their *writings* plain and evident to all men; so that every man of himself, only by *reading* them, might learn the things spoken therein. Next *Justin Martyr* saith, *Hear the words of the scripture*; which be so easy, that it needs no *exposition,* but only to be *rehearsed.* And this the *Protestants* say was the perpetual and constant judgment of the ancient *church,* &c.

White, p. 21. And further, he alledgeth, *Theodoret* who writ of his times, *You shall every where see these points of our faith to be known and understood,* not only by such as are *teachers* in the *church,* but even of *coblers* and *smiths,* and *websters,* and all kind of *artificers*; yea, all our *women,* not they only which are book learned, but they also that get their living with their needle; yea, *maid servants* and *waiting women*; and not *citizens* only, but *husbandmen* of the country are very skilful in these things; you may hear among us *ditchers,* and *neatherds,* and *woodsetters,* discoursing of the *Trinity* and the *Creation,* &c. The like is reported by others. And say the *Protestants,* his *doctrine* that was president in the *Trent conspiracy, That a distaff was fitter for women than a Bible,* was not yet hatched, &c.

Oh!

Oh! it were well if the contempt of theſe pious practices were paled only within the *Romiſh* profeſſion, and were not practiſed in and among thoſe that profeſs themſelves to be ſeparated therefrom; and what is more frequent in the mouths of many *Proteſtants*, yea, the biſhops themſelves, than theſe and ſuch like words: Muſt every baſe fellow, *cobler*, *taylor*, *weaver*, &c. meddle with the expoſition, or diſcourſing of the ſcriptures, which appertain to none but to the learned? Yea, do they not forbid their own miniſters to expound or diſcourſe of the ſcriptures? Read their 49th *Canon*, which is; *No perſon whatſoever, not examined and approved by the biſhop of the diocefe, or not licenſed, as is aforeſaid, for a ſufficient and convenient preacher, ſhall take upon him to expound in his own cure, or elſewhere, any ſcripture, or matter or doctrine; but ſhall only ſtudy to read plainly and aptly (without glozing or adding) the homilies already ſet forth, or hereafter to be publiſhed by lawful authority*, &c. So that not only Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles (who are alive in their doctrine, though not in their perſons) are forbidden all expoſition of the holy ſcriptures, or matter, or doctrine, not being licenſed by the biſhops; but alſo their own miniſters, who have ſworn canonical obedience to them. Yet when they are put to anſwer the *Papiſts*, who practiſe the ſame thing, they take up both ſcriptures and ancient writers to confute it.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The learned in human learning, do commonly, and for the moſt part, err, and know not the truth, but perſecute it, and the profeſſors of it; and therefore are no further to be followed than we ſee them agree with truth.

THE next thing in order is, ſeeing the Lord revealeth his ſecrets to the humble, though wanting human learning, that we now prove on the contrary. That God uſually, and for the moſt part, hideth his ſecrets from the learned, and ſuffereth them to err and reſiſt the truth; yea, ſo far as to perſecute it, and the profeſſors of it.

AND *Firſt*, Let us begin with the learned Heathen, who were behind none in human learning. The wiſe men of *Egypt*, how did they reſiſt the glorious and powerful truth of God delivered by *Moſes*? Yea, they reſiſted it with ſuch ſigns and lying wonders, that the heart of *Pharaoh*, and all his people, were hardened againſt it. And what was the cauſe of *Babel*'s deſtruction, but their truſting in the learned? *Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy councils*, &c. *I deſtroy the tokens of the ſoothſayers, and make them that conjecture fools, and turn the wiſe men backward, and make their knowledge fooliſhneſs.* The things of God's dealing none of the learned of *Egypt* or *Babel* could interpret but *Joſeph* and *Daniel*.

Exod. vii. 12, &c.
—— viii. 7.
Iſa. xlvii. 13.
—— xlii. 25.

NEXT come to the learned *Prieſts* and *Prophets* of the *Jews*, *whoſe lips ſhould have preſerved*

preſerved knowledge, and at whoſe mouth the people ſhould have ſought the Law. But ſaith the Lord, *They are gone out of the way; they have cauſed many to fall by the law,* &c. Mal. ii. 7, 8.

Alſo, *Stay your ſelves and wonder; they are blind and make you blind; they are drunken, but not with wine; they ſtagger, but not with ſtrong drink: for the Lord hath covered you with a ſpirit of ſlumber, and hath ſhut up your eyes, the prophets and your chief ſeers,* &c. *Therefore the Lord ſaid, becauſe this people come near to me with their mouth, and honour me with their lips, but have removed their heart far from me; and their fear towards me was taught by the precepts of men. Therefore, behold, I will again do a marvellous work, in this people; a marvellous work, and a wonder; for the wiſdom of their wiſe men ſhall periſh; and the underſtanding of the prudent ſhall be hid,* &c. *Their watchmen are all blind, they have no knowledge,* &c. And *theſe ſhepherds cannot underſtand; for they all look to their own way, every one for his own advantage, and for his own purpoſe. The wiſe men are aſhamed; they are afraid and taken: Lo, they have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wiſdom is in them,* &c. *My people have been as loſt ſheep, their ſhepherds have cauſed them to go aſtray, and have turned them away to the mountains,* &c. *Night ſhall be unto them for a viſion, and darkneſs for a divination: The ſun ſhall go down over the prophets, and the day ſhall be dark over them,* &c. *For they have no anſwer of God: they build up Zion with blood, and Jeruſalem with iniquity,* &c. *Her prophets are light and wicked perſons; her prieſts have polluted the ſanctuary; they have wreſted the law.*

Isa. xxix.

Isa. lvi. 10, &c.

Jer. viii. 9, &c.

—— xiv. 14, &c.

—— l. 6.

Micah iii.

Zeph. iii. 4.

AND

AND in the time of our Saviour, *How*
Matt. xv. 6. *had they made the commandments of God of no*
Acts xiii. 27. *authority by their traditions. The rulers of Jeruſalem* (the High prieſt, Scribes and Phariſees) *knew not Chriſt, nor yet the words of the prophets, which they heard read every ſabbath, but fulfilled them in condemning him.*
Matt. xi. And our Saviour ſaith, *I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe, and men of*
John vii. 48. *underſtanding.* And *none of the Phariſees nor*
1 Cor. i. 20, 26. *rulers believed on him. Where is the wiſe? Where is the Scribe? Where is the diſputer of this world? Hath not God made the wiſdom of this world fooliſhneſs? Not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble are called.*

AND for the learned, ſince the time of our Saviour, the council of *Epheſus*, where were 132 biſhops. Of *Seleucia*; where were 160 biſhops, related by the Proteſtants. How grievouſly did they err in decreeing the deteſtable error of *Arrianiſm*? Who is ignorant (knowing the hiſtories) that from time to time, both particular Popes and general councils have groſly erred in many things? Only one we will mention, paſſing by *Trent* and others. The council *Lateran*, we mean (Pope *Innocent*, 1215.) which for univerſality was behind none; where were preſent, two patriarchs, 70 archbiſhops metropolitans, 400 biſhops, 12 abbots, 800 conventual priors, the legates of the *Greek* and *Roman* empire; beſides the ambaſſadors and orators of the kings of *Jeruſalem*, *France*, *Spain*, *England* and *Cyprus*. In this council it was decreed, That all hereticks,

ticks, and ſo many as do in any point reſiſt the Catholick faith, ſhould be condemned, *&c.* And alſo that the ſecular powers, of what degree ſoever they be, ſhall be compelled openly to ſwear for the defence of the faith, that, [they will] to the uttermoſt of their power, root out and deſtroy in all their kingdoms, all ſuch perſons as the Catholick church hath condemned for hereticks: and if they do not, they ſhall be excommunicated. And if they do not reform within one whole year, then the *Pope* may denounce all their ſubjects abſolved, and utterly delivered from ſhewing or owing any fidelity or obedience towards them. Again, That the *Pope* may give that land to be occupied and enjoyed of the Catholicks to poſſeſs it (all heretieks being rooted out) quietly and without any contradiction. *Tho. Beaton*, in his *Reliques of Rome*, printed 1563, and the Proteſtants confeſs; that this imperfection hath hung ſo faſt upon all councils and churches, that *Nazianzen* ſaith, *He never ſaw any council have a good end.*

THUS are here ſufficient teſtimonies proved from ſcriptures and experience; that the learned may, and have uſually erred; and therefore the holy ſcriptures often warneth us, *To beware of falſe prophets, for many are gone out into the world.* Matt. xxiv. 1 John. iv.

AND will not your majeſty, your highneſs, your honours, your worſhips, be pleaſed to conſider of theſe *things?* But will your ſelves ſubmit the guidance of your ſouls to the learned ſpirituality (as they are called) without due examination by the ſcriptures? which, if you will ſtill do, we can but bewail

wail with the ſorrows of our hearts. And not ſo only, *but will you with your power which God hath given you to uſe well, compel and conſtrain your ſubjects and underlings to believe as the learned believe, not ſuffering us to read or ſearch the ſcriptures?* Which if you abhor, as being the *Romiſh* practice; *will you do that which is worſe, letting us read the ſcriptures, whereby we may know the will of our heavenly Maſter, and have our conſciences enlightened and convinced; but not ſuffer us to practiſe that we learn and know? Whereby our ſin and condemnation is made greater than* Luke xii. 47. *the blind Papiſts*, as is proved. And not only ſo, but will you conſtrain us to captivate our conſciences, and practiſe in that which in our ſouls we know to be evil, and contrary to the manifeſt law of the Lord, and that *only becauſe the learned have ſo decreed* (whom you acknowledge are ſubject to err as well as others) or elſe lie in perpetual impriſonment, and be otherwiſe greivouſly perſecuted?

May it pleaſe you to obſerve, that the church of *Rome* ſeeth, and acknowledgeth in words, That *Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh*, and hath aboliſhed the prieſthood of *Aaron*, and the legal ſacrifices; but the *Jews* ſee it not to this day; nay, the *High Prieſt*, *Scribes* and *Phariſees* ſaw it not; but for the publiſhing thereof, perſecuted *Chriſt* the Lord, and his *Apoſtles*, unto the death, calling their doctrine *hereſy*, and them *ſeditious* enemies to *Cæſar*, &c. For the which we all juſtly condemn them for their wickedneſs, ſo often as we read the holy hiſtory.

And the church of *England* ſeeth and acknowledgeth divers damnable doctrines of the church

church of *Rome*; this among many; That *the ſcriptures are not the only rule of faith*; but that *men ought to be conſtrained to believe as the church believes.* The *Proteſtants* ſee the iniquity of this, becauſe they ſee and acknowledge all churches *are ſubject to err.* But the learned *Papiſts* ſee it not, but have decreed, That whoſoever reſiſteth in any point, ſhall be judged as an Heretick, and ſuffer fire and faggot. And every temporal magiſtrate that doth not root ſuch Hereticks out of their dominions, ſhall be excommunicated: And if he do not reform, he ſhall be expelled his earthly poſſeſſions, and his ſubjects freed from owing any fidelity or obedience towards him, *&c.* For the which height of iniquity the *Proteſtants* and we juſtly cry out againſt them, for all the innocent blood that they have ſhed.

And we ſee moſt manifeſtly, That *whatſoever is not of faith is ſin. And without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* And therefore that *no mortal man may make a law to the conſcience, and force unto it by perſecutions, and conſequently may not compel unto any religion where faith is wanting*, as hereafter more largely we prove. But the learned of this land ſee it not (or rather will not practiſe it) but for our not ſubmitting herein procure your temporal ſword to perſecute us, by caſting us in priſons, where many of us have remained divers years in lingring impriſonment, deprived of all earthly comforts; as wives, children, callings, *&c.* without hope of releaſe, till our God (for the practice of whoſe commandments we are thus perſecuted) perſuade the hearts, of your majeſty,

Rom. xiv. 23. Heb. xi. 6.

your highneſs, your honours, your worſhips, to take pity upon us, our poor wives and children; or his heavenly Majeſty releaſe us by death. Will not ſucceeding ages cry out againſt the cruelty of the learned *Proteſtants* herein, as well as they cry out againſt the cruelty of the learned *Jews* and *Papiſts*? Yes, we are aſſured they will, as many millions do in other nations at this day.

THE ſcriptures declare, the cauſe of the *Jews* blindneſs was, not the obſcurity of the ſcriptures, but that they winked with their eyes, leſt they ſhould ſee that which would deprive them of their honours and profits: And becauſe their fear towards God was taught by mens precepts, and becauſe they looked to their own way, and to their own advantage, and had rejected the word of the Lord; and becauſe they builded their *Sion* with blood, and *Jeruſalem* with iniquity, and ſought their own honour, and not God's, as before is proved: ſo the cauſe of the blindneſs of the learned *Papiſts*, in denying the ſcriptures, the only rule of faith, is not the obſcurity of the ſcriptures, but their winking with their eyes, leſt they ſhould ſee that that would bring them from their honours and profits, and all the forenamed in the *Jews*. And alſo, as the *Proteſtants* well obſerve,

John xi. 48.

White, p. 18. *Firſt, That they might make themſelves judges in their own cauſe: For who ſeeth not, that if the church be the rule of faith, and theirs be the church, which way the verdict will go?* Next; *For that the greateſt points of their religion have no foundation on the ſcriptures*, &c. So that, take away the ſcriptures, and eſtabliſh their religion; but eſtabliſh the ſcrip-

ſcriptures, and their religion vaniſheth; and that mother of whoredoms, that glorified her ſelf *as a queen*, ſhall be conſumed; and her merchants, that were waxed rich through her pleaſures and profits, ſhall wail and weep, the which they now ſeeing, ſhut their eyes, leſt they ſhould ſee that which would bring them from theſe honours, profits and pleaſures. In like manner, it may eaſily be judged by every indifferent man, that the cauſe why the learned of this land will not ſee, or at leaſt practiſe (that ſeeing *there is but one Lord*, and *one Lawgiver over the conſcience*, therefore no man ought to be compelled to a worſhip wherein he hath not faith by perſecution) is not the obſcurity of the ſcriptures, but their winking with their eyes, leſt they ſhould ſee that, that would take away their honours and profits? For, if *bribes blind the eyes of the wiſe*, then honours and profits much more. For who ſeeth not, if none ſhould be compelled by perſecution to worſhip, till the power of God's word had begotten faith in them to worſhip God in ſpirit and in truth (*ſuch only worſhip him*, and none but ſuch *are required to worſhip him*) that theſe learned would loſe their honours and profits in being lords and law-makers over the conſcience and ſouls of men; although your majeſty might lawfully give them what temporal honours and profits your highneſs liked of. Theſe are the true cauſes of the blindneſs of the learned; for ſo Chriſt ſaith; *How can ye believe, when ye ſeek honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh from God alone.* And how can men but be blind in God's myſteries, when they look *to*

Rev. xviii.

Eph. iv. 5. James iv. 12.

Deut. xvi. 19.

John iv. 23.

—— v. 44.

their own way for their *own advantage*, and for their *own purpose*; for *having rejected the word of the Lord, what wisdom is in them?* They have no *answer of God*, that *build up their Sion* (for so they account their churches and profeſſions) *with blood, and Jeruſalem with iniquity*, as before is proved.

If theſe learned could free us from the Lord's wrath, or, if they might anſwer for us, and we be free; it were ſafe for us to ſubmit our ſelves, and captivate our judgments and practice to them; but ſeeing they cannot ſo much as deliver their own ſouls; and that *if the blind lead the blind, both muſt fall into the ditch.* And *every one muſt give account of himſelf to God*, and *be judged by his own works done in the fleſh*, and *that the ſoul that ſinneth ſhall die.* We dare not follow any mortal man in matters of ſalvation further than we know him to agree with the meaning of God in the ſcriptures.

PAUL the holy Apoſtle of *Jeſus Chriſt*, taught, *That we ſhould follow him no otherwiſe than he followed Chriſt*; yea, *Chriſt* himſelf ſent men to the ſcriptures to try his doctrine. The Apoſtles ſuffered their doctrine to be tryed, and commend them that try it. And the Proteſtants confeſs, *This doctrine was never miſliked, till a church roſe up, whoſe flower being droſs, and whoſe milk poiſon, could not endure the trial*; which being true, that we may try. Why may not we alſo judge and practiſe according as God's Spirit ſhall direct us in our trial? If a man ſhould drink poiſon, and know it to be poiſon, were he not in a worſe eſtate than he that ſhould drink it ignorantly, not knowing there-

of? even a murderer of himself in the highest degree: So he that drinketh spiritual poison, knowing it (for according to mens faith it is unto them) he is in a worse estate, and a murderer of his own soul in the highest degree. And therefore that church, or those learned, that will suffer their doctrine to be tried, and yet constrain men to receive and practise it, when upon examination, their consciences are convinced of the falsehood thereof, are worse, and do more highly sin than they that constrain a blind conscience, though both be evil.

We despise not learning, nor learned men, but do reverence it and them, according to their worthiness; only when it is advanced into the seat of God, and that given to it which appertaineth unto the Holy Ghost, which is to lead into all truth; then nought all, as *Ezekiah* did unto the brazen serpent, detest it and contemn it.

CHAP. VI.

Persecution for cause of conscience, is against the doctrine of Jesus Christ, *King of kings.*

1. CHRIST commandeth, *That the tares and wheat* (which are those that walk in the truth, and those that walk in falsehood) *should be let alone in the world, and not plucked up until the harvest, which is the end of the world.* Matt. xiii. 28. —— xv. 14.

2. The same commandeth, *That they that are blindly led on in false Religion, and are offended with him for teaching true religion,* should

be let alone, *referring their punishment unto their falling into the ditch.*

Luke ix. 54, 55. 3. AGAIN, he reproved his disciples (*who would have had fire come down from heaven, and devoured those Samaritans that would not receive him*) in these words; *Ye know not of what spirit ye are: The son of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them.*

2 Tim. ii. 24. 4. PAUL the Apostle of our Lord teacheth, *That the servant of the Lord must not strive, but must be gentle towards all men, suffering the evil men, instructing them with meekness that are contrary minded*; proving, *if God at any time will give them repentance, that they may acknowledge the truth, and come to amendment out of that snare of the Devil*, &c.

5. ACCORDING to these aforesaid commandments, the holy prophets foretold, That when the law of *Moses*, concerning worship, should cease, and Christ's kingdom be established, then all carnal weapons should cease.

Isa. ii. 4. Mic. iv. 3, 4. Isa. xi. 9. *They shall break their swords into mattocks, and their spears into sithes*, &c. *Then shall none hurt nor destroy in all the mountain of my holiness*, &c. And when he came, the same he taught and practised as before; so did his

2 Cor. x. 4. Apostles after him: For the *weapons of his warfare are not carnal*, &c. But he charged streightly that his disciples should be so far from persecuting those that would not be of

Matt. v. their religion, that when they were persecuted *they should pray*. When they were cursed, *they should bless*: The reason is, because they that are now *tares* may hereafter become *wheat*; they who are now *blind* may hereafter *see*; they that now *resist him* may hereafter *receive him*;

him; they that are now in the *Devil's snare*, in adverseness to the truth, may hereafter come *to repentance*; they that are now *blasphemers, persecutors* and *oppressors*, as *Paul* was, may in time, become *faithful* as he; they that are now *idolaters*, as the *Corinths* once were, may hereafter become *true worshippers* as they; they that are now *no people of God*, nor under mercy, as the saints sometimes were, may hereafter become *the people of God*, and *obtain mercy* as they. Some come not till the *eleventh hour*. If those that come not till the *last hour* should be destroyed because they came not at *the first*, then should they never come, but be prevented. And why do men call themselves *Christians*, and do not the things *Christ* would?

1 Cor. vi. 9.

1 Pet. ii. 20.

Matt. xx. 6.

CHAP. VII.

Persecution for cause of conscience is against the profession and practice of famous princes.

FIRST, We beseech your majesty we may relate your own worthy sayings, in your majesty's speech at parliament, 1609. Your highness saith, *It is a sure rule in divinity, that God never loves to plant his church by violence and bloodshed*, &c. And in your highness, *Apol.* p. 4. speaking of such Papists as took the oath, thus: *I gave a good proof that I intended no persecution against them for conscience cause, but only desired to be secured for civil obedience, which for conscience cause they were bound to perform.* And, *p.* 60. speaking of *Blackwell*, the arch-priest, your ma-

majesty saith, *It was never my Intention to lay any thing to the said arch-priest's charge, as I have never done to any for cause of conscience*, &c. And in your highness's *Exposi.* on *Rev.* xx. printed in 1588, and after 1603. your majesty truly writeth thus. Sixthly, *The compassing of the saints, and besieging of the beloved city, declareth unto us a certain note of a false church to be* persecution; *for they come to seek the faithful; the faithful are those that are sought; the wicked are the* besiegers; *the faithful the* besieged.

Secondly, THE saying of *Stephen*, king of *Poland*: *I am king of men, not of consciences*; a commander of bodies, not of souls, &c.

Thirdly, THE king of *Bohemia* hath thus written. *And notwithstanding the success of the latter time, wherein sundry opinions have been hatch'd about the subject of* religion, *may make one clearly discern with his eye, and as it were touch with his finger; that according to the verity of holy scripture, and a maxim heretofore held and maintained by the ancient doctors of the church; that mens consciences ought in no sort to be violated, urged, or constrained; and whensoever men have attempted any thing by this violent course, whether openly or by secret means, the issue hath been pernicious, and the cause of great and wonderful innovations in the principallest and mightiest kingdoms and countries of all Christendom*, &c. And further, his majesty saith; *So that once more we do protest, before God and the whole world, that from this time forward we are firmly resolved, not to persecute or molest, or suffer to be persecuted or molested, any person whosoever, for mat-*

matter of religion, no, not they that profess themselves to be of the Roman church; neither to trouble or disturb them in the exercise of their religion, so they live conformably to the laws of the states, &c.

AND for the practice of this. Where is persecution for the cause of conscience, except in *England*, and where popery reigns? and not there neither in all places, as appeareth by *France*, *Poland*, and other places; nay, it is not practised among the Heathen, that acknowledge not the true God, as the *Turk*, *Persian*, and others.

CHAP. VIII.

Persecution for cause of conscience, is condemned by the ancient and later writers; yea, by Puritans and Papists.

HILARY against *Auxentius*, saith thus: *The Christian church doth not persecute, but is persecuted: and lamentable it is to see the great folly of these times, and to sigh at the foolish opinion of this world, in that men think, by human aid, to help God, and with worldly pomp and power to undertake to defend the Christian church. I ask of you bishops, what help used the Apostles, in the publishing of the gospel? With the aid of what power did they preach* Christ, *and converted the Heathen from their idolatry to God? When they were imprisoned, and lay in chains, did they praise and give thanks to God for any dignities, graces and favours received from the court? Or, do you think that* Paul *went about with regal mandates,*

of kingly authority, to gather and establish the church of Christ? Sought he protection from Nero, Vespatian? &c.

THE Apostles wrought with their hands for their own maintenance; travelling by land and water, from town to city, to preach Christ; yea, the more they were forbidden, the more they taught and preached Christ. But now, alas! human help must assist and protect the faith, and give the same countenance to, and, by vain and worldly honours do men seek to defend the church of Christ; as if he by his power were unable to perform it.

THE same against the Arrians. The church now, which formerly, by enduring misery and imprisonment, was known to be a true church, doth now terrify others, by imprisonment, banishment, and misery; and boasteth that she is highly esteemed of the world: whereas the true church cannot but be hated of the same.

TERTUL. ad Scapul. It agreeth both with human equity, and natural reason, That every man worship God uncompelled, and believe what he will; for, another man's religion or belief neither hurteth nor profiteth any man; neither beseemeth it any religion to compel another to be of their religion; which willingly and freely should be embraced, and not by constraint: Forasmuch as the offerings were required of those that freely, and with a good will offered, and not from the contrary.

JEROM in Proem. lib. 4. in Jeremiam. Heresy must be cut off with the sword of the Spirit. Let us strike through with the arrows of the Spirit, all sons and disciples of misled Hereticks; that is, with testimonies of holy

scrip-

ſcripture. The ſlaughter of Heretick is by the word of God.

BRENTIUS *on* 1 COR. iii. *No man hath power to make or give laws to Chriſtians, whereby to bind their conſciences; for willingly, freely, and uncompelled with a ready deſire and chearful mind, muſt thoſe that come, run unto Chriſt.*

LUTHER, in his book of the civil magiſtrate. *The laws of the civil government extends no further than over the body or goods, and to that which is external; for, over the ſoul God will not ſuffer any man to rule, only he himſelf will rule there. Therefore, whereſoever the civil magiſtrate doth undertake to give laws unto the ſoul and conſciences of men, he uſurpeth that government to himſelf, which appertaineth to God,* &c.

THE ſame upon 1 *Kings* vi. *In the building of the temple there was no ſound of iron heard, to ſignify that Chriſt will have in his church a free and willing people, not compelled and conſtrained by laws and ſtatutes.*

AGAIN he ſaith upon *Luke* xxii. *It is not the true Catholick Church, which is defended by the ſecular arm or human power, but the falſe and feigned church; which although it carries the* name *of a church, yet it denieth the* power *thereof.* And upon *Pſal.* xvii. he ſaith; *For the true church of Chriſt knoweth not* Brachium ſeculare, *which the biſhops now a-days chiefly uſe.*

AGAIN, in *Poſtil. Dom.* 1. poſt. *Epiph.* he ſaith, *Let not Chriſtians be commanded, but exhorted; for he that will not willingly do that whereunto he is friendly exhorted, he is no Chriſtian. Therefore thoſe that do compel them,*

that

that are not willing, shew thereby that they are not Christian preachers, but worldly beadles.

AGAIN, upon 1 *Pet.* iii. he saith, *If the civil magistrate would command me to believe thus or thus, I should answer him after this manner; Lord, or Sir, look you to your civil or worldly government, your power extends not so far to command any thing in God's kingdom, therefore herein I may not hear you; for if you cannot suffer that any man should usurp authority where you have to command, How do you think that God should suffer you to thrust him from his seat, and to seat your self therein?*

THE *Puritans*, as appeareth in their answer to *Admonit. to Parl.* pag. 109. *That Papists nor others, neither constrainedly nor customally communicate in the mysteries of salvation.* Also in their supplication, printed 1609. *p.* 21, &c. *much they write for toleration.*

Lastly, THE *Papists*, the inventors of persecution, in a wicked book lately set forth; thus they write: *Moreover, the means which almighty God appointed his officers to use in the conversion of kingdoms and people, was humility, patience, charity,* &c. saying, *Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves.* He did not say, *I send you as wolves among sheep, to kill, imprison, spoil and devour those unto whom they were sent.*

Matt. x. 16.

—— *ver.* 7. AGAIN he said, *They to whom I send you, will deliver you up in councils, and in their synagogues they will scourge you; and to presidents and to kings shall you be led for my sake.* He doth not say, *You whom I send shall deliver*

the

the people (whom you ought to convert) into councils, and put them in prisons, and lead them to presidents and tribunal seats, and make their religion felony and treason.

AGAIN he saith; *When ye enter into the house, salute it, saying, Peace be to this house.* He doth not say, *You shall send pursevants to ransack and spoil the house.* Matt. x. 12.

AGAIN he saith; *The good pastor giveth his life for his sheep; the thief cometh not but to steal, kill and destroy.* He doth not say, *The thief giveth his life for his sheep, and the good pastor cometh not but to steal, kill, and destroy,* &c. John x.

So that we holding our peace, our adversaries themselves, speak for us, or rather for the truth.

CHAP. IX.

It is no prejudice to the commonwealth, if freedom of religion were suffered, but would make it flourish.

BE pleased not to hearken to mere leasings, but to what God and experience teacheth in this thing. *Abraham* abode among the *Canaanites* a long time, yet contrary to them in religion. Again, *he sojourned in* Gerar, *and king* Abimelech *gave him leave to abide in his land.* *Isaac* also dwelt in the same land, yet contrary in religion. *Jacob* lived twenty years in one house with his uncle *Laban*, yet differ'd in religion. The people Gen. xiii. 7, 16, 3. — xx, & xxi. 33, 34. — xxvi. 31.

of

of *Iſrael* were four hundred and thirty years in that famous land of *Egypt*, and afterwards ſeventy years in *Babylon*; all which time they differ'd in religion from the ſtates. Come to the time of Chriſt, where *Iſrael* was under the *Romans*, where lived divers ſects of religions, as *Herodians*, *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, *Sadducees*, *Libertines*, *Thudæans*, *Samaritans*; beſides the common religion of the *Jews*, *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, all which differed from the common religion of the ſtate, which (is like) was the *worſhip of Diana*, which almoſt *the whole world then worſhipped*. All theſe lived under the government of *Cæſar*, being nothing hurtful to the ſtate and commonwealth; for they gave unto *Cæſar* that which was his; and for religion to God, he left them to themſelves, as having no domination therein. And when the enemies of the truth raiſed up any tumults, the wiſdom of the magiſtrates moſt wiſely appeaſed them.

Exod. xii.
2 Chr. xxxvi.
Acts xix. 20.
—— xviii. 14.
—— xix. 35, &c.

AGAIN, be pleaſed to look into the neighbour nations, who tolerate *religion*, how their wealths and ſtates are governed, many ſorts of religions are in their dominions; yet no trouble of ſtate, no treaſon, no hindrance at all of any good, but much proſperity brought unto their countries, they having all one harmony in matters of ſtate, giving unto *Cæſar* his due; and for religion they ſuffer one another.

IF any object the troubles of *France*, *Germany*, &c. we anſwer; They are ſuch as have been procured by the learned, but moſt *bloody Jeſuits*, who ſeek to eſtabliſh their religion by blood, for the ſubverſion of whom,

your

your wiſdoms are wiſe to deal in. Yet be pleaſed not to let faithful ſubjects be puniſhed for their wickedneſs; but let moſt ſevere laws be made for the maintenance of civil and human peace and welfare, as to your majeſty and others ſhall ſeem expedient. And if it be well obſerved, it is the learned that raiſeth up all the bloody wars among the princes of the earth.

CHAP. X.

Kings are not deprived of any power given them of God, when they maintain freedom for caſe of conſcience.

WE know the learned do perſuade, that kings have power from God to maintain the worſhip and ſervice of God, as they have power to maintain right and juſtice between man and man. For Chriſtian kings, ſay they, have the ſame power that the kings of *Iſrael* had under the law. For anſwer to which,

Firſt, LET it be obſerved, The kings of *Iſrael* had never power from God to make new laws, or ſet up new worſhips, which God's word required not, nor to ſet high prieſts, or ſpiritual lords for the performance of the ſervices, other than ſuch as God, by *Moſes*, had expreſly commanded; and therefore the power of the kings of *Iſrael* will warrant no kings to make or confirm *Canons*, ſet up new worſhips, and appoint ſpiritual lords and lawgivers to the conſcience, and perſecute all that ſubmit not unto them.

Secondly,

Secondly, Let it be well obſerv'd, only the kings of *Iſrael* had this power, but no other kings, whoſe commonwealths did flouriſh to them and their ſeeds after them, to many generations: and it muſt be granted, that he that is King of *Iſrael* now, which is Jeſus Chriſt (the truth of thoſe typical kings of *Iſrael*) he hath the power according to the proportion; the temporal kings had temporal power to compel all to the obſervation of thoſe carnal or temporal commandments. So Chriſt, the ſpiritual King, hath ſpiritual power to compel all to the obſervation of his ſpiritual commandments. For when he came, himſelf ſaid; *The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and in truth: for the Father requireth even ſuch to worſhip him.* If Chriſt be only King of *Iſrael*, that ſits upon *David*'s throne for ever, as he is; far be it from any king to take Chriſt's ſeat from him. The wiſdom of God foreſaw, that ſeeing the myſteries of the goſpel are ſuch ſpiritual things, as no natural men (though they be princes of this world) can know them; he left not kings and princes to be lords and judges thereof, ſeeing they are ſubject to err; but he left that power to his beloved Son, who could not err; and the Son left his only deputy the Holy Ghoſt, and no mortal man whatſoever, as your highneſs worthily acknowledgeth, in *Apol.* p. 46. *I utterly deny that there is any earthly monarch over the church, whoſe word muſt be a law, and who cannot err by an infallibility of ſpirit. Becauſe earthly kingdoms muſt have earthly monarchs, it doth not follow the church muſt have*

Heb. vii. 16. —— ix. 10.

John iv. 23.

Acts ii. 30.

a visible monarch too. Christ is the church's monarch, and the Holy Ghost his deputy. The kings of the nations reign over them; but you shall not be so, &c. *Christ when he ascended left not* Power *with them to direct them into all truth; but promised to send the Holy Ghost unto them for that end,* &c. Luke xxii.

Further, These learned alledge the commandments, where *Israel* are commanded *to destroy all the inhabitants of the land, lest they intice them to serve their gods, and to slay all false prophets,* &c. These they collect from the time of the *law*; for in the time of the *gospel* they have nothing to alledge; for *Rom.* xiii. maketh nothing for their purpose, *Cæsar* being an heathen king. For answer unto the places of *Moses*. Exod. xxiii. 33. Deut. vii, & xiii.

First, The *sins of that people, the* Canaanites *were full, and the Lord would destroy them, and give their possessions unto the* Israelites; but the sins of the refusers of Christ are not full until the end, or last hour, as before is proved.

Secondly, The *children of* Israel *had a special commandment from the Lord to destroy them*; but the kings of the nations have no command at all to destroy the bodies of the contrary minded; nay, they are expressly forbidden it.

Thirdly, The Canaanites *would have rebelled against* Israel, *and have destroyed them*; but the contrary minded will not rebel against their kings, but give unto them the things that belong unto them; not so much for fear, as of conscience; and of this the God of Gods is witness; if any do, or teach otherwise, let them be destroy'd. Matt. xiii. 29.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, THE *heads and rulers of* Iſrael *could command and compel the people to obſerve thoſe carnal rites and ordinances of the law*; *even as* CHRIST, *the head and ruler of* Iſrael *can compel to the obſervation of his ſpiritual ordinances of the goſpel*; but the heads of the nations cannot compel their ſubjects to believe the goſpel; for *faith is the gift of God*; which *faith*, if they want, all they do in God's worſhip *is ſin*. Therefore they cannot compel any to worſhip, becauſe they cannot give them *faith*; for which cauſe the Lord in wiſdom ſaw it not meet to charge kings with a duty which they cannot perform; God will never require it at their hands; the blood of the faithleſs and unbelieving ſhall be on their own heads. *He that will not believe ſhall be damn'd.*

Rom. xiv. 23. Heb. xi. 6. Mark xvi. 16.

AGAIN, ſeeing it is true, as your majeſty well obſerveth in your highneſs's ſpeech at Parl. 1609. *That the judicials of* Moſes, *were only fit for that time, and thoſe perſons.*

AND alſo it is confeſſed, the law for adultery, theft, and the like, is not now to be executed, according to the judicials of *Moſes*, nor directions for the magiſtrates of the earth to walk by; Why ſhould theſe be any directions for them, ſeeing alſo our Saviour and his Apoſtles have taught the contrary, as before hath been proved? If all falſe prophets ſhould be now executed, according to *Deut.* xiii. The kings of the earth would not only be deprived of many of their ſubjects; but the *cities of their habitation, with all the inhabitants of the cities, muſt be deſtroyed with the edge of the ſword*; *the cattle thereof, and all the ſpoil thereof muſt be brought into the midſt*

midſt of the city, and the city and all therein be burnt with fire, be made a heap of ſtones for ever, and never be built again; which God forbid ſuch execration ſhould ever be ſeen. And if theſe judicials of *Moſes* be not now directions for the kings of nations; we read not in all the book of God, any directions given to kings to rule in matters of conſcience and ſpiritual worſhip to God. But often we read, that the kings of the nations ſhall give their power to the beaſt, and fight againſt the lamb, as lamentable experience hath plainly taught it.

Rev. xvi. 14.
—— xvii. 2, &c.
—— xviii. 3, 9.
—— xix. 19.

THUS all men may ſee, there is only deceit in theſe learned mens compariſons of the kings of *Iſrael* in the law, with the kings of nations in time of the goſpel, in matters of *religion*. Much might be written to prove that kings are not deprived of their power by permitting of freedom of religion; but are rather deprived thereof by uſing compulſion to the contrary minded; and do ſin grievouſly in cauſing them to ſin for want of faith; but this may ſuffice, the Almighty bleſſing it with his bleſſing, which we humbly beſeech him for his *Chriſt*'s ſake, for his own *glory* ſake, for the proſperity and welfare of theſe *kingdoms*, and for the comfort of your faithful and true hearted ſubjects that are now diſtreſſed by long and lingring impriſonments, and otherwiſe; who of conſcience give unto *Cæſar* the things which are his; which is, to be *lord* and *lawgiver* to the bodies of his *ſubjects*, and all belonging to their outward man, for the preſervation of himſelf and his good ſubjects, and for the puniſhment of the evil: In which preſerva-

tion the church of Christ hath a special part, when their outward peace is thereby preserved from the fury of all adversaries; in which respect princes are called *nursing fathers*, as many are at this day, *blessed be the Lord*.

Oh be pleased to consider, why you should persecute us for humbly beseeching you, in the words of the King of kings, *To give unto God the things which are God's*; which is, to be *Lord* and *Lawgiver* to the soul in that spiritual worship and service which he requireth. If you will take away this from God, what is it that is God's? Far be it from you to desire to sit in the consciences of men, to be *lawgiver and judge therein*. This is *antichrist's* practice, persuading the kings of the earth to give him their power to compel all hereunto. But whosoever submitteth, *shall drink of God's fierce wrath*. You may make and mend your own laws, and be judge and punisher of the transgressors thereof; but *you cannot make or mend God's laws, they are perfect already. You may not add nor diminish, nor be judge nor monarch of his church*, that is Christ's right; he left neither you, nor any mortal man his deputy, but *only the Holy Ghost*, as your highness acknowledgeth. And whosoever erreth from the truth, his judgment is set down, and the time thereof.

Matt. xxii. 21.

Rev. xiv. 9, 10.

Psal. xix. 7. Deut. iv. 2. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

2 Thess. i. 8, &c. Rom. ii. 8, &c.

This is the sum of our *humble petition*; That your majesty would be pleased not to persecute your faithful subjects (who are obedient to you in all civil worship and service) for walking in the practice of what God's word requireth of us, for his spiritual worship,

Matt. xiii. 40. —— xxv. 31, &c. Rom. ii. 16.

ſhip, as we have faith, knowing (as your majeſty truly writeth in your *Medit.* on *Matt.* xxvii. *p.* 69. in theſe words) *We can uſe no ſpiritual worſhip or prayer that can be available to us without faith.*

THIS *is the ſum of our* moſt humble petition, *thus manifoldly proved to be juſt.*

O LORD GOD of glory, raiſe up in this high aſſembly the heart of ſome *Nehemiah*, of ſome *Ebedmelech*, that may open their mouths (for the dumb, that cannot ſpeak for themſelves) in a truth ſo apparent as this is, leſt it be ſaid, as *Iſa.* lix. 16. *And when he ſaw that there was no man, he wondered that none would offer himſelf; therefore his arm did ſave it, and his righteouſneſs it ſelf did ſuſtain it.*

AND now we ceaſe not to pray for the king, and his ſon, and his ſeed, and this whole, high and honourable aſſembly, now and always.

Calling the all-ſeeing God to witneſs, That we are your majeſty's loyal ſubjects, not for fear only but for conſcience ſake. *Unjuſtly* called,

ANA-BAPTISTS.

NUMB. III.

To the Right Reverend THOMAS *Lord Bishop of* LINCOLN.

'*My Lord*,

'THE ground of my humble tendering these ensuing pages to 'your lordship, is your declared condescension to peruse 'any brief treatise that should 'be presented to you concerning the proper 'subject and administration of baptism.'

THEN follows a short preface, giving an account of the *English* baptists; at the conclusion of which, the captain says, 'That 'their particular persuasion may be no bar in 'the way of your lordship's charity towards 'them, I shall now proceed briefly to state 'their opinion, with the proofs in general 'upon which they establish the truth of it.'

THIS substance, says he, of what is asserted by them, is, *That those who do profess repentance towards God, faith in, and obedience to our Lord Jesus, are the proper subjects of baptism.*

THAT *the due administration of this ordinance is by immersion, or dipping the person in water; and that they find no rule or example in scripture for baptizing any person in any other manner, or without an actual declaration of faith.*

'For proof hereof they alledge,

'1. The doctrine and practice of *John the* '*Baptist*, and of the disciples of our Lord, 'whilst

'whilſt he was preſent with them before his 'crucifixion.' *And ſaying, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. And were baptized of him in* Jordan, *confeſſing their ſins. I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to bear, he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire. Then cometh Jeſus from* Galilee *to* Jordan *unto* John, *to be baptized of him. And Jeſus, when he was baptized, went up ſtraightway out of the water; and lo, the heavens were opened unto him; and he ſaw the Spirit of God deſcending like a dove, and lighting upon him.* John *did baptize in the wilderneſs, and preach the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins. And there went out unto him all the land of* Judea, *and they of* Jeruſalem, *and were all baptized of him in the river of* Jordan, *confeſſing their ſins. And it came to paſs in thoſe days that Jeſus came from* Nazareth *of* Galilee, *and was baptized of* John *in* Jordan. *And he came into all the country about* Jordan, *preaching the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins.* John *anſwered, ſaying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to unlooſe, he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire. Now when all the people were baptized, it came to paſs that Jeſus alſo being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened. Then ſaid* Paul, John *verily baptized with the baptiſm of repentance, ſaying unto the people, That they ſhould believe on him which ſhould come after him; that is, on Chriſt Jeſus. When they heard this, they were baptized*

Matt. iii. 2, 6, 11, 13, 16.

Mark i. 4, 5, 9.

Luke iii. 3, 16, 21.

Acts xix. 4, 5.

John iii. 22, 23. *in the name of the Lord Jesus. After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judea, and there he tarried with them and baptized. And* John *also was baptizing in* Enon, *near to* Salim, *because there was much*
John iv. 1. *water there; and they came and were baptized. Jesus made and baptized more disciples than* John.

'2. THE words of positive and sovereign
Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. 'institution, after the resurrection of our Lord. *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end*
Mark xvi. 16. *of the world.* Amen. *He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*

'3. THE Apostles and Evangelists instruc-'tions, resolutions of questions on this sub-'ject and practice, correspondent with the 'command, next and immediately after it 'was given.'

Acts ii. 38. THEN Peter *said unto them, Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and ye*
—— viii. 12, 36, 39. *shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. But when they believed* Philip, *preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water; and the eunuch said, See here is water; What doth hinder me to be baptized? And* Philip *said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I belive that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded*

the

the chariot to ſtand ſtill; and they went down both into the water, both Philip *and the eunuch, and he baptized him. And when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away* Philip, *that the eunuch ſaw him no more, and he went on his way rejoicing.*

And he departed thence, and entered into a certain mans houſe, named Juſtus, *one that worſhipped God, whoſe houſe joined hard to the ſynagogue. And* Criſpus, *the chief ruler of the ſynagogue, believed on the Lord with all his houſe; and many of the* Corinthians *hearing, believed, and were baptized.* Acts xviii. 7, 8.

'4. THE manifold uſe and improvement, 'which after many Chriſtian churches were 'ſettled, the Apoſtles made in their epiſtles 'to them, taken from the due qualifications 'required in perſons to be baptized, and built 'upon the due adminiſtration of that ordi-'nance, wherein is ſhewed the myſtical ſigni-'ficancy thereof.'

'(1.) As it is by the prayer, ſtipulation, 'or interrogation of the baptized's good con-'ſcience therein Godward, the figure of ſal-'vation through the reſurrection of Jeſus 'Chriſt; which otherwiſe, by the waters 'waſhing away of the filth of the fleſh in 'baptiſm it would not be.' *And now why tarrieſt thou? Ariſe and be baptized, and waſh away thy ſins, calling on the name of the Lord.* — xxii. 16.

And the Lord ſaid unto him, Ariſe, and go into the ſtreet which is called Straight, *and enquire in the houſe of* Judas, *for one called* Saul *of* Tarſus; *for behold he prayeth.* — ix. 11.

The like figure whereunto even baptiſm doth alſo now ſave us, not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards 1 Pet. iii. 21.

wards God by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

'2. As it is to the understanding of the 'baptized person ordained to be a sign of 'fellowship with Christ in his death and re-
Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5. 'surrection.' *Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.*
Col. ii. 12. *Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.*

'And of engrafting into that mystical body 'the church, whereof Christ is the head.' *For*
Gal. iii. 27, 28. *as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither* Jew *nor* Greek, *there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in*
1 Cor. xii. 13. *Christ Jesus. For by one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be* Jews *or* Gentiles, *whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one spirit.*

'And consequently a reproof and convi-'ction, in the baptized's own conscience, of 'the crime, in case he be guilty of making
1 Cor. i. 13. 'a schism in the church.' *Is Christ divided? Was* Paul *crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of* Paul?

'Or separating from the church,' as,
Jude ver. 19. Heb. x. 25. These *be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit. Not forsaking the*

assem-

assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another; and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.

'3. As the baptized is presumed to know 'himself to be thereby obliged in general to 'a perseverance in holiness, a growth in 'grace, and knowledge of the mysteries of 'God, even of the Father and of Christ, and 'to the yielding a ready obedience of faith 'to all other doctrines and precepts of our 'Lord." *Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the the dead.* Rom. vi. 3. Col. ii. 12. *Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God; of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment. And this will we do if God permit.* Heb. vi. 1, 2, 3.

'My Lord, says the captain, if these 'scriptures be rightly interpreted and applied 'by these called *Anabaptists*; and if it be also 'true, as they have often asserted, that there 'is not in the whole scriptures any rule given 'to baptize, or any plain instance of any 'person's being baptized in any other man'ner, or without being first further instru'cted in the doctrine, and making confession 'of faith; I cannot conceive why this should 'not be accepted without any other additio'nal testimonies or arguments, as a sufficient

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'defence for ſuch, as with a due obſervance 'of all other rules of Chriſtianity, general 'and ſpecial, do in this point thus behave 'and do: nor why they ſhould be therefore 'cenſured, either as varying from the firſt 'inſtitution, or as being deficient in any 'proof neceſſary to maintain this their opini-'on and practice.

'I TAKE it to be agreed, ſays he, among 'the generality of reformed Chriſtians, that 'in the holy ſcriptures are contained dire-'ctions, as well concerning all eſſential parts 'of worſhip, as doctrines neceſſary to be be-'lieved. And it may be thence ſafely con-'cluded, that without the help of any un-'written traditions, or any other writings, 'the holy ſcriptures divinely inſpired and 'written for our learning, always, ſince they 'were firſt written, have been, are, and will 'be, through faith in Chriſt Jeſus, equally 'powerful to render any other perſon, as well 'as *Timothy*, *wiſe to ſalvation*: and to com-'pleat any other miniſter of Chriſt for his 'work, whether it be for doctrine or inſtru-'ction in righteouſneſs, reproof of errors, or 'ſetting to right and reſtoring the true wor-'ſhip of God, if any of his inſtitutions, 'through negligence, omiſſion, incogitan-'cy, human traditions, frequent and long 'continual examples in the church, or any 'other means have not been rightly obſerved. 'And if it be admitted, that no power or 'authority was ever committed to any do-'ctors, aſſemblies, or general councils, pur-'poſely, or knowingly, in any tranſcript of 'the ſcriptures, to vary one letter from the 'original record, or in any tranſlation to va-

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'ry from the true and genuine sense of the 'original text; and that not every individual 'letter, syllable, or word, in a transcript or 'translation; but the sense of scripture is 'of divine authority, and may be render'd 'and preach'd now as well as in the Apo-'stles time, to every nation under heaven, Acts ii. 5, 11.
'in their respective proper languages: And 'that notwithstanding all accidents of vari-'ous lections, or different interpretations, 'through the obstinacy of transcribers, or 'various sentiments of translators, through 'human frailty; yet, through the attenda-'ble providence and grace of God, watching 'over and assisting his faithful bishops and 'teachers in the church, we have, in all neces-'sary points relating to doctrine, worship and 'conversation, the genuine sense and mean-'ing of the holy scriptures continued to us, 'as they were at first revealed, and divinely 'inspired into, and delivered over by the ho-'ly penmen thereof, as I am abundantly sa-'tisfied; I thank God for it, that we have. 'And if it be also admitted that the church 'hath no more power to change the rites and 'forms of sacraments instituted by our Lord, 'than they have to change his word and law; 'for that as the one contains the audible, so 'the other the visible sign of the divine will: 'Then, I humbly conceive, in the decision 'of this controversy, between the *Anabap-'tists* and *Pædobaptists*, we may safely cast 'out of our thoughts all intercurrent consi-'derations between the primitive and the present 'state of the church; and without having re-'gard to any intervening canon, tradition, 'or nice school distinction, follow that ve-

'nerable

'merable ſcripture example of the chief of 'the fathers and the prieſts, in a caſe which, 'in many reſpects, may be ſaid to be of the 'like nature, upon their return out of the 'Babyloniſh captivity; who, when they and 'the people were aſſembled to read and un-'derſtand the words of the law, which God 'had commanded by *Moſes*, and found writ-'ten therein in what manner the rites of the 'feaſt of tabernacles were to be obſerved by 'the *Iſraelites*, they regulated and kept the 'ceremonies thereof, not by former examples, 'but by the preſcript form, which had not 'been ſo done for about a thouſand years be-'fore.' *And they found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by* Moſes, *that the children of* Iſrael *ſhould dwell in booths in the feaſt of the ſeventh month: and that they ſhould publiſh and proclaim in all their cities, and in* Jeruſalem, *ſaying, Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, as it is written. So the people went forth and brought them, and made themſelves booths, every one upon the roof of his houſe, and in their courts, and in the courts of the houſe of God, and in the ſtreet of the water-gate, and in the ſtreet of the gate of* Ephraim. *And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and ſat under the booths: for ſince the days of* Joſhua *the ſon of* Nun, *unto that day, had not the children of* Iſrael *done ſo: and there was very great gladneſs.*

Neh. viii. 14, 15, 16, 17.

'I TAKE baptiſm, ſays the captain, to 'have been generally reputed the initiating 'ordinance, or admiſſion of ſuch into the vi-

'ſible

'ſible church, who having been before in-
'ſtructed in, and converted to the Chriſtian
'faith, have, from that internal perſuaſion,
'made an external profeſſion of faith in, and
'ſubjection to the perſon, doctrine and com-
'mands of the Lord Jeſus. Not that I reck-
'kon it in order of nature, or time, the firſt
'act of worſhip which any ſuch perform to-
'wards him; for if any thing may in that
'reſpect be ſaid to be firſt, I ſhould rather
'attribute the priority to the reception in the
'heart, of that *incorruptible ſeed, the word*
'*of God*, by which a perſon is born again;
'and the demonſtration of that ſpiritual life to
'be the firſt breathing after God, thro' Chriſt,
'in holy deſires and prayer. Nor do I think
'inſtruction in all the fundamentals of Chri-
'ſtianity, or in the utmoſt extent or ſignifi-
'cancy of baptiſm it ſelf, of any more abſo-
'lute neceſſity than in the beginning of Chri-
'ſtian religion; for in many, if not in each
'individual perſon, Chriſtianity may in ſome
'reſpects have as much its beginning now, as
'when Chriſt was firſt preached among the
'*Gentiles*. *Apollos* was *mighty in the ſcrip-*
'*tures*, and an accurate teacher of the things
'of the Lord; knowing only the baptiſm of
'*John*, until *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* expounded Acts xviii. 24,
'to him the way of the Lord more exquiſitely. 26.
'A deficiency is alſo mentioned among the —— xix. 1, 7.
'diſciples at *Epheſus*. A competent know-
'ledge of the grounds of that obedience, which
'in each individual act of worſhip is yielded
'to God, is requiſite in him that ſo worſhips,
'to render it acceptable; for God is a *ſpirit*,
'and ſeeketh and reputeth ſuch for true wor-
'ſhippers of him, who do worſhip him *in*

'*ſpirit*

'*ſpirit and in truth.*' But there may be errors 'on the right hand, as well as on the left. 'God is jealous of his inſtituted worſhip, and 'no man is exempt, by the dignity of his 'perſon, or eminency of his gifts, from yield-'ing obedience thereunto, in due order and 'manner required. It is very remarkable, 'that *Moſes*, the reputed ſon of king *Pha-'raoh*'s daughter, educated in all the learning 'of the *Egyptians*, although God had emi-'nently appeared to him, ſhewed him divers 'miracles, made him ſignal promiſes of his 'preſence and aſſiſtance, appointed him to be 'the leader of his people; yet, after all this, 'the Lord met him in his journey, and ſought 'to ſlay him. And by the context it is evi-
Exod. iv. 24, 25, 26. 'dent, that this anger againſt him was for that 'he had neglected to circumciſe his ſon. Two 'inſtances alſo we have in the New Teſtament, 'though not of ſuch ſeverity, yet ſuch as ſerve 'to evidence that it may be ſometimes neceſ-'ſary to admoniſh thoſe that are moſt emi-'nently favoured of God, and endued with 'the ſpecial gifts of the Holy Spirit, that 'they defer not that obedience which they 'ought to yield to his inſtituted worſhip, par-'ticularly this ordinance of baptiſm. Ordina-'rily, at the firſt preaching of this goſpel, 'baptiſm in water did precede the baptiſm of
Matt. iii. 11. 'the Spirit, and conferring of ſpecial gifts; 'although the latter of theſe was always pre-'ferred before the other, as moſt eminent. 'But *Ananias* was ſent to *Saul* of the Lord 'Jeſus, who had before appeared to him, that
Acts ix. 17. 'by putting on of his hands, as appears by 'the text, he might receive his ſight, and be 'filled with the Holy Spirit. And this was

'done,

'done, not only before his baptiſm in water,
'but by compariſon of this place with *Acts*
'xxii. 16. there ſeems to have been, by *Ana-*
'*nias*'s queſtion, *Why tarrieſt thou?* at leaſt
'a neceſſary ſtirring of him up to an imme-
'diate diſcharge of his duty therein. And the
'like we may obſerve in *Cornelius* and his
'kinſmen, and near friends; on whom, whilſt
'the Apoſtle *Peter* was preaching to them,
'the gift of the Holy Spirit was poured out,
'ſo that they ſpake with tongues, and mag- Acts ix. 47,
'nified God; which as it did ſufficiently evi- 48.
'dence they were qualified for it, ſo alſo that
'by this anticipation of the baptiſm of the
'Spirit, baptiſm in water might not be de-
'ferred by them. The Apoſtle, not by way
'of teſtimony and exhortation only, as in
'*Acts* ii. 40. and in other common caſes;
'but as better ſuiting with their before de-
'clared diſpoſition, and the preſent occaſion,
'expreſly commanded them to be baptized. —— *ver.* 33,

'TOUCHING things relating to the common 34.
'faith, and common ſalvation of Chriſtians,
'it has always been allowed, by the moſt emi-
'nently learned and orthodox biſhops and
'doctors, that the ſcriptures are eaſy to be
'underſtood; and were ſo plainly in theſe
'points penn'd by the Prophets, Apoſtles and
'Evangeliſts, that every perſon who will read,
'and diligently ſearch and ponder them, might
'thereby of himſelf learn what are therein ſpo-
'ken of theſe things.

'TOUCHING the proper ſubject and man-
'ner of baptiſm, it ſeems not to me (I ſpeak
'with ſubmiſſion, ſays the captain) very ma-
'terial to enquire concerning the different opi-
'nions of men, or how their controverſies here-

'about have been decided, by any general 'council ſince the Apoſtles days; becauſe each 'perſon's faith, and practice herein, in every 'ſucceeding generation to the end of the world, 'is alike to be founded upon, and regulated 'by the ſcripture, as was theirs who did ſuc-'ceed immediately, and were next to the Apo-'ſtles. The ſcriptures in theſe points are leaſt 'of all liable to be miſtaken, when they are 'taken by ſuch as read them, as if ſent to 'them immediately by the hands of the Apo-'ſtles and evangeliſts, and by ſuch as hear 'them read openly in the church, as if that 'ſervice was performed by ſuch as had ſo re-'ceived them, in obedience to the Apoſtles
1 Theſſ. v. 27. 'ſtrict charge to that purpoſe.' *I charge you by the Lord, that this epiſtle be read unto all the holy brethren.*

'I DO not write this, ſays the captain, to 'derogate from, or diminiſh any part of that 'honour that is due, and ought to be given 'to thoſe who are pious and learned *overſeers* 'in the Lord's vineyard. The wiſdom of 'God did foreſee it neceſſary to eſtabliſh ru-'lers, paſtors and teachers, in his church, 'and to qualify them with ſuitable authority 'and gifts, as well for the good government, 'ordering and edifying of the body of Chriſt, 'as on their behalf to watch againſt and diſ-'cover falſe doctrines, and falſe teachers; 'who by transforming themſelves into angels of 'light, ſeek all occaſions to deſtroy the flock, 'remove the ancient foundations of the houſe 'of God, and to introduce damnable hereſies, 'and doctrines of devils; the detection where-'of is not within the compaſs of an ordinary 'capacity; therefore in this reſpect, eſpeci-

'ally

'ally even now, when the ravening wolves 'ſtood watching for the moment wherein they 'might ſeize their prey, is your lordſhip de- 'ſervedly rank'd with the foremoſt of thoſe, 'whoſe words are the more excellent and ac- Prov. xxv. 11. 'ceptable, becauſe upright, and words of truth, 'ſpoken in ſeaſon by a maſter of collections. Eccleſ. xii. 10, 'And the grace and good providence of God, 11. 'that qualified and ſtirred up your lordſhip, 'upon ſuch a ſpecial occaſion, to detect and 'expoſe to open view, the opinions and prin- 'ciples of ſuch falſe teachers, in their native 'deformity, which renders them ſo abomina- 'ble, that the diſciples of thoſe who are the 'fathers of them, are aſhamed to own them, 'is the more remarkable, and calls for an 'humble, hearty and thankful acknowledg- 'ment from all thoſe on whoſe behalf this 'was done.

'THESE, and all ſuch labours as have a 'tendency either to detect erronious doctrines, 'or reduce the doctrines of Chriſtianity to 'their prime and genuine purity, that inter- 'pret and help others to underſtand aright the 'holy ſcriptures of truth, have been, and 'will be always of ſingular uſe and advan- 'tage to the church of God, approved, bleſ- 'ſed, and the authors of them highly eſteem- 'ed of all ſincere Chriſtians for their work- 'ſake.

'BUT, my Lord, theſe and all faithful guides, 'who teach their hearers and diſciples pure 'doctrine and worſhip, ſpeak to them in, and 'guide them to the words of the Prophets 'and Apoſtles; ſo that, by common conſent, 'all are to be tried, judged and determined 'by the rule of ſcripture. And in this re-

'ſpect it is, that this ſect of *Anabaptiſts* a-
'mongſt us do ſay, *That if the doctrine of*
baptiſm, as they teach it, and the form of
baptiſm as they practiſe it, be according to
the ſcriptures, and primitive uſe of the
Chriſtian church; this alone is a ſufficient
defence for them herein, although there ſhould
be no concurrent teſtimony of any other tradi-
tion, cuſtom, decree of council, or opinion
whatſoever. 'Yet, my lord, with this due
'*ſalvo* to the ſovereign and ſole authority of
'ſcripture, I ſee no cauſe they have, if mat-
'ters be duly weighed, to decline, or that
'they do indeed appeal from the judgment of
'the ancient fathers herein.

'To evidence this on their behalf, I ſhall,
'ſays the captain, inſtance in a few of thoſe
'many ancient teſtimonies which they al-
'ledge as unqueſtionable, and of ſuch argu-
'ments deduced from thence, as to me ſeem
'very cogent and natural.

'I. THAT the general and very ancient
'uſage of ſponſors or ſuſceptors at the bap-
'tiſm of infants, to perſonate and anſwer to
'articles of the Chriſtian faith; as if the ve-
'ry perſon to be baptiſed is, beyond contra-
'diction, an evidence in it ſelf of a general
'received opinion among all that uſe this
'cuſtom with underſtanding, that a confeſ-
'ſion of the principal doctrines of the Chri-
'ſtian faith, made by the perſon to be bap-
'tized, did, according to the firſt inſtitution,
'precede baptiſm. But then the reaſon al-
'ledged by this ſect, why they do not ob-
'ſerve this ancient cuſtom, is, becauſe, they
'ſay, there are no footſteps of this practice
'to be found in the ſcriptures; neither can

'they

'they trace the original of it any higher than 'the time mentioned in the *Roman* breviary, 'in their ſervice, the 11th day of *January*, 'celebrated in memory of *Hyginus* biſhop of '*Rome*, *Anno Chriſti* 153. who is therein ac-'knowledged to be the firſt inſtitutor of ſuſ-'ceptors in baptiſm; and is ſo alſo by the 'concurrent teſtimony of other hiſtorians.

'AND it is further alledged by them, as 'very probable, that *Tertullian*'s admonition 'concerning the deferring of infants baptiſm 'till they could anſwer for themſelves, rather 'than to admit them to it by ſuch undertа-'kers, was occaſioned by this novel inven-'tion of *Hyginus*; the one of them living till 'toward the latter end of the ſecond century, 'and the other at the ſame time, or about the 'beginning of the third.

Tert. *lib. de Bapt. cap.* 11.

'2. THAT practice*, which at firſt was 'generally admitted by all ſorts of converts 'to the faith, *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in all places 'at the ſame time, and in a continued ſucceſ-'ſion from the beginning, without any diſ-'pute or diſagreement, *Scil.* to baptize ſuch 'as manifeſted a joyful reception of the word 'of grace, and made a confeſſion of their 'faith, is to be preferred, as agreeing with 'the firſt inſtitution and primitive ſtate of the 'Chriſtian church; before that other pra-'ctice,

* It is related by father *Vanſleb*, in his *French* hiſtory of the church of *Alexandria*, ch. xxxiii. That *Amba Macaire*, biſhop of *Memphis*, ſecretary to *Caſmus*, the third of that name, patriarch to the *Cophti*, or Chriſtians of *Egypt*, who liv'd in the eighth *century*, ſays, *That in the primitive times, baptiſm was not adminiſter'd in the church of* Alexandria, *but once a year, and that upon* Good-friday; *and only to thoſe of thirty years of age.*

'ctice, *Scil.* admitting infants to baptiſm by 'ſponſors; which obtained but by degrees, 'and in ſome places before others; and 'which from the firſt mention of that uſe, 'ſucceſſively for ſeveral ages, if not to this 'very age, hath been queſtioned, diſputed, 'and ſometimes omitted by Chriſtian parents, 'of ſome who afterwards were of great emi-'nency in the church, who were not baptized 'until they were adult, although infant bap-'tiſm was then admitted by others; as ap-'pears in the hiſtory of their lives, *viz.* '*Gregory Nazianzen, Chryſoſtom, Conſtan-'tine, Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine.*

Hieron. *in* Matt. xxviii.

'FIRST teach all nations, then dip the 'taught in water; for it cannot be that the 'body ſhould receive the ſacrament of baptiſm, 'unleſs the ſoul firſt receive the truth of faith.'

Baſil, *mag. de ſpiritu ſancto, cap.* 12.

'THE confeſſion of ſalvation goes before; 'then follows baptiſm, ſealing our covenant.'

Concilium Laodiceum, Anno 364.

'THOSE who are to be baptized ought to 'learn and repeat the creed to the biſhop or 'preſbyter.

'THIS canon was confirmed in *Conſtan-'tine*'s time, at the ſixth general ſynod at '*Trullo*, Canon 46.

Apolog. Juſtin Martyr *to the emp.* Antonio.

'As many as believe the things preached 'by the Chriſtians to be true, and promiſe to 'live accordingly, are taught to faſt and 'pray, for the remiſſion of their ſins, the 'church alſo praying and faſting with them; 'and then they are brought to a place 'where water is, and are baptized; then 'they are brought and added to the church 'and receive the Lord's-ſupper.

Lud. Vives *in* Aug. *lib.* 1. *de Civ. Dei, c.* 27.

'NONE but the adult of antient time were 'uſed to be baptized.

'THE

'THE words of *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen*, Baxter. *more proofs*, *p.* 279.
'shew it was long before all were agreed of
'the time or necessity of baptizing infants
'before the use of reason, in case they were
'like to live to maturity.

'3. THAT form of baptizing which is Sir Norton Knatchbull, *at large in his notes on* 1 Pet. iii. 21.
'according to the common acceptation of the
'word and usage of the Christian church in
'its primitive state, and represents all the ma-
'terial points of Christian doctrine, whereof
'it is a type, *Still* dipping the person bap- Ambros. *de initiand. c.* 3. Bern. *ser.* 46.
'tized in water, to signify his death unto sin,
'purification and resurrection unto newness
'of life, is to be observed rather than any
'other form; which agrees only with one
'thing thereby signified, *Still* purification, Heb. x. 22.
'which is mentioned (*Let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water*) 'rather as the effect than form of bap-
'tism. There appearing no reason why this
'word, by which this ordinance was institu-
'ted, should be therein taken in any other
'than a literal sense; and if it be well ob-
'served, it may appear, where-ever this word
'is used in the scriptures in a metaphorical
'sense, thereby is represented an overwhelm-
'ing, plunging, or large pouring on, whe-
'ther it be of sufferings, conferring spiritual
'gifts, or the *Israelites* passing through the
'bottom of the sea, and no where to signify
'sprinkling. It is affirmed by this sect, that
'herein they have the concurrent testimony
'of many learned and approved expositors,
'of those passages of scripture where this
'word is to be taken in a figurative sense.

'CLEMENT the 5th is cited for the first, 'who at the second synod at *Ravenna*, *Anno* 1305, approved, that baptism might 'be given, no necessity compelling, by 'sprinkling.

Bugenhagius Pomeranus, *circa finem libelli* Germanician 1542. *editi.*

'JOHANNES *Bugenhagius Pomeranus*, 'when he saw at *Hamburgh*, an infant 'brought to baptism, wrapped up in swad-'ling clothes, and water sprinkled upon its 'head, was amazed; for that except in the 'case of necessity, for persons sick in their 'beds, he had neither seen nor heard, nor 'in any history read of any such thing. 'Whereupon there being a convocation of 'all the ministers, it was asked of Mr. *John* '*Fritz*, who had been formerly minister at '*Lubeck*, how baptism was there administer'd? 'who answer'd, infants were there, as in all '*Germany*, baptized naked; but he was igno-'rant how that peculiar manner of baptizing 'had crept in at *Hamburgh*. At length it was 'agreed amongst them, that they should send 'to know the opinion of *Luther*, and the 'divines at *Wirtenberg* in this matter. Which 'being done, *Luther* writ back to *Hamburgh*, 'that this sprinkling was an abuse, which 'ought to be removed, that thereupon im-'mersion was restored at *Hamburgh*.

Monsieur de la Roque, *minister of the reformed church at* Roan.

'A learned *French Protestant*, in answer 'to the treatise of bishop *Bossuet*, *De commu-'nione sub utrâque specie*, answers to an ob-'jection concerning the *Protestants* baptizing 'by sprinkling. That it is true they do so, 'but that it is certainly an abuse; and that 'this practice which they have retained from 'the church of *Rome*, without well exa-'mining it, renders their baptism very de-'fective.

'THERE-

'THEREIN is corrupted the inſtitution, and the ancient cuſtom, and the reſemblance which it ought to have with faith, repentance, and regeneration. Monſieur *Boſſuet*'s remark, that plunging had been uſed for thirteen hundred years, deſerves a ſerious reflection.

'IT was very ill done to aboliſh the firſt uſage authorized by ſo much ſtrength of reaſon, and for ſo many ages. We are obliged to return to the ancient practice of the church, and the inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt.

4. 'THEY further alledge, ſays the captain, that it appears by ſeveral paſſages in ancient hiſtory, that the variations which were made from the firſt eſtabliſhed form of baptiſm, did not ariſe from any doubtful ſignification of the words, whereby this ordinance was inſtituted; but from other collateral conſiderations, *viz.* The danger of perſons, young or old, dying unbaptized; and thereupon the pouring or ſprinkling water upon them in their beds, whence, by reaſon of ſickneſs they could not riſe, nor without hazard of a real, inſtead of a repreſentative dying, be baptized in any other manner.

'OF this there needs no other evidence than the many queſtions which were moved. Whether their baptiſm might be eſteemed lawful or compleat, who were baptized only by ſprinkling or pouring on of water? which received no other anſwer, but that neceſſity urging, it might be ſo eſteemed.

Magn. apud Cyprian, *epiſt.* Corn. *ad* Fabium, *apud.* Niceph. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 3.

'MY lord, ſays the captain, I am mindful of your direction, not to be prolix;

'and have therefore omitted many material 'quotations; which if you will please to read 'a few pages, you will find, in Dr. *Duveil*'s 'treatise on Chap. ii, viii, and xviii. of the '*Acts*, exactly referred to, and much to the 'purpose. It is not my intent to handle this 'point by way of controversy, but only to 'give some brief hints, that as the form 'of baptism has been varied upon other con-'siderations than what appears in the insti-'tution, so may it have been also with re-'spect to the proper subject of baptism.

Mr. Claude's *Hist. defence*, Eng. *transl. Part* IV. *p.* 100.

'THE reverend Mr. *Claude*, in his histo-'rical defence of the reformation, answering 'to the objections of the author of preju-'dices, about the validity of his baptism, cites 'this passage: '*The promise is made to us and 'to our children; and to all that are afar off, 'even as many as the Lord shall call*; 'and says, That by a necessary consequence, 'the seal of that promise, which is baptism, 'and all the other rights of the covenant of 'Jesus Christ, belongs to us, and to our 'children; that is to say, to the truly faith-'ful. I will not undertake, says he, to ex-'plain Mr. *Claude*'s meaning in these expres-'sions, nor to set forth the extent of the cove-'nant which he mentions.

Nehem. Cox *on the covenants; printed at* London, 1683. *cited by* Duveil, *on* Acts ii. 41.

'THERE is a short treatise, published by 'Mr. *Nehemiah Cox*, concerning the cove-'nants before the law, on this subject, which 'may give some light into this matter.

'THERE may be a great difference be-'tween a direct, immediate, and a remote 'right to what is comprehended in, or be-'longs to a covenant, not to insist any thing 'on the impropriety or congruity of a seal,

'as applied to the covenant of grace under
'its various miniſtrations. *David*'s ſon by
'*Bathſheba*, in the time of the law, dying
'at ſeven days old, had no right to circum-
'ciſion. *Shem* and *Lot* were contemporary
'with *Abraham*; *Job* and his friends, as is
'ſuppoſed, with *Moſes*, all true worſhippers
'of God, and within the covenant of grace;
'yet nothing is ſpoken of circumciſion be-
'longing to them, or any of their poſterity.
'In the reſolution of the caſe by the Apo- 1 Cor. vii.
'ſtle ſaint *Paul*, concerning the cohabitation
'of a believer with an unbeliever, in a mar-
'ried ſtate, it is determined by the Apoſtle,
'that the unbeliever is ſanctified by the be-
'liever; and thence he draws this inference,
'that their *children* were *holy*. Whence it
'ſeems plain, that to the procreation of an
'holy ſeed, in the Apoſtle's ſenſe, it was ne-
'ceſſary that both parents, as well the belie-
'ver as the unbeliever, in that conjunct ſtate
'of marriage, ſhould be alſo reputed holy.
'And therefore I do not diſcern how the iſſue
'of both theſe ſhould have any more im-
'mediate right from thence to baptiſm, than
'the unbelieving parent. And if *Chriſtiani*,
'*fideles*, and *baptizati*, were anciently terms
'promiſcuouſly uſed one for the other; then
'it may ſeem by that character, amongſt
'others given by *Paul* to *Titus*, of a perſon Tit. i. 6.
'to be choſen an elder, having believing
'children, that it was not a common caſe for
'all Chriſtian parents to have all their chil-
'dren accounted faithful, and conſequently
'baptized. But whenſoever it proved ſo, it
'was a great evidence of a right and ſucceſs-
'ful education in the fear of God, as was

'that

2 Tim. i. 4, 5. 2 John v. 4.

'that of *Timothy*, and ground of rejoicing 'to the ſervants of God; as were thoſe *chil-* 'dren of the elect lady, that walked in the 'truth.

'BUT, my lord, my province, ſays the 'captain, is only to repeat briefly what oc- 'curs to mind in defence of their opinion and 'practice, who are ſtiled *Anabaptiſts*; and 'otherwiſe than what may be preſumed of 'neceſſary conſequence, if the terms and 'forms of this ordinance be ſtrictly limited; 'not to intermeddle with the opinion of any 'that teach otherwiſe, but leave them therein, 'as I ought to do, to ſtand or fall to their 'own maſter.

Greg. *magn.* *lib.* 1. *ep.* 37.

'THE *Anabaptiſts*, in their own caſe, do 'ſay, It is an opinion that the ancients held, 'that what cannot be ſhewed by certain ſigns 'to be rightly performed, cannot be ſaid to 'be repeated.

Scotus, *in* 4 *ſent. diſt.* 3. *q.* 2. N°. 10.

'IN all doubtful caſes, as to matter and 'form, there are three ſpecial things to be 'obſerved.

'1. IF poſſible to chuſe the moſt ſafe way.

'2. IF it be not poſſible to keep that which 'is next to the ſafeſt.

'3. THE impoſſibility ceaſing, to ſup- 'ply warily what that did for the ſeaſon pro- 'hibit.

Forbeſius Scoto. Britan. *inſtruct. hiſt.* *lib.* 10. *can.* 4. Num. xxx. *Ordo* Romanus *de ritibus eccleſiaſt.*

'THERE is no doubt but they are again 'to be baptized, who were not dip'd in the 'true ſacrament of baptiſm.

'TO conclude, Whoever undertakes to 'write againſt the ancient manner of inſtru- 'cting or confeſſion preceding baptiſm, 'or form uſed in baptizing, hath this taſk

'incum-

'incumbent upon him: To give some other proper interpretation of the words of institution, ancient manner of *catechumens*, use of large *baptisteria* and *Lavacres*, and of the methods and care described for the decent administration of this ordinance, than is hitherto extant in the frequent mention of these things in antiquity.

Sittridus Othonis *presbyter assistens in ipsius actis, lib. 2. c. 15.* Salmasius *in epist. ad* Andr. Calvin. *script. cal. Jul.* 1644.

'If I have, says the captain, through inadvertency, erred in any quotations, or in any thing not answered your lordship's expectation: I humbly beg your lordship's pardon. And if it may be without trouble to your lordship, that I may, by the meanest of your servants, receive your lordship's further commands herein, they shall readily be obeyed by

Your Lordship's

obliged and obedient servant,

RICH. DEANE.

NUMB.

NUMB. IV.

A Brief Confession or Declaration of FAITH, *lately presented to* King Charles *the second; set forth by many of us, who are falsly called* Anabaptists, *to inform all men, in these days of scandal and reproach, of our innocent Belief and Practice; for which we are not only resolved to suffer persecution to the loss of our goods, but also life it self, rather than to decline the same. Subscribed by certain* Elders, Deacons, *and* Brethren, *met at* London *in the behalf of themselves, and many others unto whom they belong, in* London, *and in several Counties of this Nation, who are of the same* Faith *with us.*

I. WE believe, and are very confident, That there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, from everlasting to everlasting, glorious and unwordable in all his attributes. 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. *Isa.* xl. 28.

II. THAT God in the beginning made man *upright*, and put him into a state and condition of glory, without the least mixture of misery; from which he, by *transgression*, fell, and so came into a miserable and mortal estate, subject unto the first death. *Gen.* i. 31.

Eccles. vii. 29. Gen. ii. 17. and viii. 17, 18, 19.

III. THAT there is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, who is the only begotten Son of God, born of the virgin *Mary*; yet as truly *David's* lord, and *David's* root, as *David's* son and *David's* off-spring; whom God freely *sent into the world*, because of his great love unto the world; who as freely *gave himself a ransom for all*, tasting *death for every man*; a *propitiation for our sins*; *and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world*. Luke xx. 24. Rev. xxii. 16. 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6. 1 John ii. 2. Heb. ii. 9.

IV. THAT *God is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance*, 2 Pet. iii. 9. *and the knowledge of the truth that they might be saved*, 1 Tim. ii. 4. For which end Christ hath commanded that the gospel (to wit, the glad tidings of remission of sins) should be preached to every creature, *Mark* xvi. 15. So that no man shall eternally suffer in hell (that is, the second death) for want of a Christ that died for them; but, as the scripture saith, *for denying the Lord that bought them*, 2 Pet. ii. 1. or because they *believe not in the name of the only begotten Son of God*, John iii. 18. Unbelief therefore being the cause why the just and righteous God will condemn the children of men; it follows, against all contradiction, that all men, at one time or other, are put into such a capacity, as that (through the grace of God) they may be eternally saved. *John* i. 7. *Acts* xvii. 30. *Mark* vi. 6. *Heb.* iii. 10, 18, 19. 1 *John*, v. 10. *John* iii. 17.

V.

V. THAT ſuch who firſt orderly comes into, and are brought up in the ſchool of Chriſt's church, and waiting there, comes to degrees of Chriſtianity, rightly qualified, and conſiderably gifted by God's Spirit, ought to exerciſe their gifts, not only in the church, but alſo (as occaſion ſerves) to preach to the world (they being approved of by the church ſo to do) *Acts* xi. 22, 23, 24. *ch.* xi. 19, 20. and that among ſuch ſome are to be choſen by the church, and ordained by faſting, prayer, and laying on of hands, for the work of the miniſtry. *Acts* xiii. 2, 3. and i. 23. Such ſo ordained (and abiding faithful in their works) we own as miniſters of the goſpel; but all ſuch who come not firſt to repent of their ſins, believe on the Lord Jeſus, and ſo *baptized* in his name for the remiſſion of ſins, but are only brought up in the ſchools of human learning, to the attaining human arts, and variety of languages, with many vain curioſities of ſpeech, 1 *Cor.* i. 19, 21. 2 *Cor.* ii. 1, 4, 5. ſeeking rather the gain of large revenues, than the gain of ſouls to God: Such (we ſay) we utterly deny, being ſuch as have need rather to be taught themſelves, than fit to teach others. *Rom.* ii. 21.

VI. THAT the way ſet forth by God for men to be juſtified in, is by faith in Chriſt, *Rom.* v. 1. That is to ſay, When men ſhall aſſent to the truth of the goſpel, believing, with all their hearts, that there is remiſſion of ſins, and eternal life to be had in Chriſt. And that Chriſt therefore is moſt worthy their conſtant affections, and ſubjection to all his commandments; and therefore reſolve, with purpoſe

poſe of heart, ſo to ſubject unto him in all things, and no longer unto themſelves. 2 *Cor.* v. 15. And ſo ſhall (with all godly ſorrow for the ſins paſt) commit themſelves to his grace, confidently depending upon him, for that which they believe is to be had in him: Such ſo believing are juſtified from all their ſins, their faith ſhall be accounted unto them for righteouſneſs. *Rom.* iv. 22, 23, 24. and iii. 25, 26.

VII. THAT there is one holy Spirit, the precious gift of God, freely given to ſuch as *obey him*, Eph. iv. 4. Acts v. 32. that thereby they may be thoroughly ſanctified, and made able (without which they are altogether unable) to abide ſtedfaſt in the faith, and to honour the Father, and his Son Chriſt, the author and finiſher of their faith. 1 *Cor.* vi. 11. There are three that bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, the Holy Spirit, and theſe three are one, 1 *John* v. 7. which ſpirit of promiſe ſuch have not yet received (though they ſpeak much of him) that are ſo far out of *love, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, meekneſs, and temperance* (the *fruits of the Spirit*, Gal. v. 22, 23.) as that they breath out much cruelty, and great envy againſt the liberties, and peaceable living of ſuch as are not of their judgment, though holy as to their converſations.

VIII. THAT God hath, even before *the foundation of the world, choſen* (or elected) *to eternal life, ſuch as believe*, and ſo are in Chriſt, *John* iii. 16. *Eph.* i. 4. 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 13. yet confident we are, that the purpoſe of God, according to election, was not in the leaſt ariſing from foreſeen faith in, or works

of

of righteouſneſs done by the creature, but only from the mercy, goodneſs, and compaſſion dwelling in God, and ſo *it is of him that calleth*, Rom. ix. 11. whoſe purity and unwordable holineſs cannot admit of any unclean perſon (or thing) to be in his preſence; therefore his decree of mercy reaches only the godly man, whom (ſaith *David*) God *hath ſet apart for himſelf*, Pſal. iv. 3.

IX. THAT men not conſider'd ſimply as men, but ungodly men, *were of old ordained to condemnation*, conſider'd as ſuch, who turn the grace of God into wantonneſs, and deny the only Lord God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Jude* 4. God indeed ſends a ſtrong deluſion to men, that they might be damned, but we obſerve that they are ſuch (as ſaith the Apoſtle) that *received not the love of the truth, that they might be ſaved*, 2 Theſſ. ii. 10, 11, 12. and ſo the indignation and wrath of God, is upon *every ſoul* of man, that doth *evil*, living and dying therein, *for there is no reſpect of perſons with God*, Rom. ii. 9, 10, 11.

X. THAT all children dying in infancy, having not actually tranſgreſſed againſt the law of God in their own perſons, are only ſubject to the firſt death, which comes upon them by the ſin of the firſt *Adam*, from whence they ſhall be all raiſed by the ſecond *Adam*; and not that any one of them (dying in that eſtate) ſhall ſuffer for *Adam*'s ſin, eternal puniſhment in hell (which is the ſecond death) *for to ſuch belongs the kingdom of heaven*, 1 Cor. xv. 22. Matt. xix. 14. not daring to conclude with that uncharitable opinion of others, who though they plead much for

for the bringing of children into the viſible church here on earth by *baptiſm*; yet nevertheleſs, by their doctrine, that Chriſt died but for ſome, ſhut a great part of them out of the kingdom of heaven for ever.

XI. THAT the right and only way of gathering churches (according to Chriſt's appointment, *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20.) is firſt to teach, or preach the goſpel, *Mark* xvi. 16. to the ſons and daughters of men; and then to *baptize* (that is, in *Engliſh*, to *dip*) in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſuch only of them as profeſs *repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Acts ii. 38. ch. viii. 12. ch. xviii. 8. And as for all ſuch who preach not this doctrine, but inſtead thereof, that ſcriptureleſs thing of ſprinkling of infants (*falſly called baptiſm*) whereby the *pure word of God is made of no effect*, and the New Teſtament way of bringing in members into the church by regeneration, caſt out; when as the bond woman and her ſon, that is to ſay, the Old Teſtament way of bringing in children into the church by generation is caſt out, as ſaith the ſcripture, *Gal.* iv. 22, 23, 24, 30. *Matt.* iii. 8, 9. All ſuch we utterly deny; foraſmuch as we are commanded to *have no fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, but rather to reprove them*, Eph. v. 11.

XII. THAT it is the duty of all ſuch who are believers baptized, to draw nigh unto God in ſubmiſſion to that principle of Chriſt's doctrine, to wit, prayer, and laying on of hands, that they may receive the promiſe

of the holy Spirit. *Heb.* vi. 1, 2. *Acts* viii. 12, 15, 17. *ch.* xix. 6. 2 *Tim.* i. 6. Whereby they may *mortify the deeds of the body*, Rom. viii. 13. and live in all things answerable to their profeſſed intentions and deſires, even to the honour of him, *who hath called them out of darkneſs into his marvellous light*.

XIII. That it is the duty of ſuch, who are conſtituted as aforeſaid, to continue ſtedfaſtly in Chriſt's and the Apoſtle's doctrine, and aſſembling together, in fellowſhip, in breaking of bread and prayers, *Acts* ii. 42.

XIV. That although we thus declare for the primitive way and order of conſtituting churches; yet we verily believe, and alſo declare, that unleſs men ſo profeſſing and practiſing the form and order of Chriſt's doctrine, ſhall alſo beautify the ſame with a holy and wiſe converſation, in all godlineſs and honeſty; the profeſſion of the viſible form will be render'd to them of no effect; *for without holineſs no man ſhall ſee the Lord*, Heb. xii. 14. *Iſa.* i. 11, 12, 15, 16.

XV. That the elders or paſtors which God hath appointed to overſee, and feed his church (conſtituted as aforeſaid) are ſuch, who firſt being of the number of diſciples, ſhall in time appear to be *vigilant, ſober, of good behaviour, given to hoſpitality, apt to teach*, &c. *not greedy of filthy lucre* (as too many national miniſters are) *but patient; not a brawler, not covetous*, &c. and as ſuch choſe, and ordained to office (according to the order of ſcripture, *Acts* xiv. 23.) who are to feed the flock with meat in due ſeaſon, and in much love to rule over them with all care,

seeking after such as go astray: but as for all such who labour to feed themselves with the fat, more than to feed the flock, *Ezek.* xxxiv. 2, 3. seeking more after theirs than them, expressly contrary to the practice of the ministers of old, who said, *we seek not yours but you*, 2 Cor. xii. 14. All such we utterly deny, and hereby bear our continued testimony against them, as such whom the prophets of old bore testimony against. *Ezek.* xxxiv.

XVI. That the ministers of Christ tha have freely received from God, ought freely to minister to others, 1 *Cor.* ix. 17. and that such who have spiritual things freely minister'd to them, ought freely to communicate necessary things to the ministers (upon the account of their charge) 1 *Cor.* ix. 11. *Gal.* vi. 6. and as for tithes, or any forced maintenance, we utterly deny to be the maintenance of gospel ministers.

XVII. That the true church of Christ ought, after the first and second admonition, to reject all hereticks, *Tit.* iii. 10, 11. and in the name of the Lord to withdraw from all such as profess the way of the Lord, but walks disorderly in their conversations, 2 *Thess.* iii. 6. or any ways causes divisions or offences, contrary to the doctrine (of Christ) which they have learned, *Rom.* xvi. 17.

XVIII. That such who are true believers, even branches in Christ the Vine (and that in his account, whom he exhorts to abide in him, *John* xv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.) or such who have charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned, 1 *Tim.* i. 5. may nevertheless, for want of watchfulness, swerve and turn aside from the

ſame, *ver.* 6, 7. and became as withered branches, caſt into the fire and burned, *John* xv. 6. But ſuch *who add unto their faith vertue, and unto vertue knowledge, and unto knowledge temperance*, &c. 2 *Pet.* i. 5, 6, 7, ſuch *ſhall never fall*, ver. 8, 9, 10. 'tis impoſſible for all the falſe chriſts and falſe prophets that are, and are to come, to deceive ſuch; for they are *kept by the power of God, through faith unto ſalvation*, 1 Pet. i. 5.

XIX. THAT the poor ſaints belonging to the church of Chriſt, are to be ſufficiently provided for by the churches, that they neither want food or raiment; and this by a free and voluntary contribution, and not of neceſſity, or by the conſtraint or power of the magiſtrate, 2 *Cor.* ix. 7. 1 *Cor.* viii. 11, 12. and this through the free and voluntary help of the deacons (called overſeers of the poor) being faithful men; choſen by the church, and ordained by prayer and laying on of hands to that work, *Acts* vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. So that there is no need in the church of Chriſt of a magiſterial compulſion in this caſe, as there is among others, who being conſtituted in a fleſhly and generational way, are neceſſitated to make uſe of a carnal ſword, to compel even a ſmall, mean, and ſhort maintenance for their poor; when as many other members of their churches can and do part with great and large ſums of money to maintain their vain faſhions, gold, pearls, and coſtly array; which is expreſly contrary to the word of God, 1 *Tim.* ii. 9, 10. 1 *Pet.* iii. 3. Alas, *What will ſuch do when God riſeth up? and when he viſiteth, what will they anſwer him?* Job xxxi. 14.

XX.

XX. THAT there ſhall be (through Chriſt, who was dead, but is alive again from the dead) a reſurrection of all men from the graves of the earth, *Iſa.* xxvi. 19. both the juſt and the unjuſt, *Acts* xxiv. 15. that is, the fleſhly bodies of men, ſown into the graves of the earth, corruptible, diſhonourable, weak, natural (which ſo conſidered, cannot inherit the kingdom of God) ſhall be raiſed again, incorruptible, in glory, in power, ſpiritual; and ſo conſidered, the bodies of the ſaints (united again to their ſpirits) which here ſuffer for Chriſt, ſhall inherit the kingdom, *reigning* together with Chriſt. 1 *Cor.* xv. 21, 22, 42, 43, 44, 49.

XXI. THAT there ſhall be after the reſurrection from the graves of the earth, *an eternal judgment*, at the appearing of Chriſt and his kingdom, 2 *Tim.* iv. 1. *Heb.* ix. 27. at which time of judgment, which is unalterable, and irrevocable, every man ſhall receive according to the things done in his body, 2 *Cor.* v. 10.

XXII. THAT the ſame Lord Jeſus who ſhewed himſelf alive after his paſſion, by many infallible proofs, *Acts* i. 3. which was taken up from the diſciples, and carried up into heaven, *Luke* xxiv. 51. *ſhall ſo come in like manner as he was ſeen go into heaven*, Acts i. 9, 10, 11 *And when Chriſt, who is our life, ſhall appear, we ſhall alſo appear with him in glory*, Col. iii. 4. *For then ſhall he be King of kings, and Lord of lords*, Rev. xix. 16. *For the kingdom is his, and he is the Governor among the nations*, Pſal. xxii. 28. *and king over all the earth*, Zech. xiv. 9.

and we ſhall reign with him on the earth, Rev. v. 10. The kingdoms of this world (which men ſo mightily ſtrive after here to enjoy) ſhall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and his Chriſt, *Rev.* xi. 15. *For all is yours* (O ye that overcome this world) *for ye are Chriſt's, and Chriſt is God's*, 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. *For unto the ſaints ſhall be given the kingdom, and the greatneſs of the kingdom, under* (mark that) *the whole heaven*, Dan. vii. 27. Though (alas) now many men be ſcarce content that the ſaints ſhould have ſo much as a being among them; but when Chriſt ſhall appear, then ſhall be their day, then ſhall be given unto them power over the nations, to rule them with a rod of iron, *Rev.* ii. 26, 27. Then ſhall they receive a crown of life, which no man ſhall take from them, nor they by any means turned, or overturned from it; for the oppreſſor ſhall be broken in pieces, *Pſal.* lxxii. 4. and their now vain rejoicings turned into mourning and bitter lamentations; as it is written, *Job* xx. 5, 6, 7. *The triumphing of the wicked is ſhort, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment: though his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds, yet ſhall he periſh for ever, like his own dung; they which have ſeen him, ſhall ſay, Where is he?*

XXIII. THAT the holy ſcripture is the rule whereby ſaints, both in matters of faith and converſation, are to be regulated; they being *able to make men wiſe unto ſalvation, through faith in Chriſt Jeſus; profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs,*

tion sufficient, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works, 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. John xx. 31. Isa. viii. 20.

XXIV. THAT it is the will and mind of God (in these gospel times) that all men should have the free liberty of their own *consciences* in matters of religion or worship, without the least oppression or persecution, as simply upon that account; and that for any in authority otherwise to act, we confidently believe is expressly contrary to the mind of Christ; who requires, that *whatsoever men would that others should do unto them, they should even so do unto others*, Matt. vii. 12. and that the tares and the wheat should grow together in the field (which is the world) until the harvest (which is the end of the world) *Matt.* xiii. 29, 30, 38, 39.

XXV. WE believe, That there ought to be civil magistrates in all nations, *for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well*, 1 Pet. ii. 14. and that all wicked lewdness and fleshly filthiness, contrary to just and wholsome (civil) laws, ought to be punished according to the nature of the offences; and this without respect of any persons, religion, or profession whatsoever; and that we, and all men are obliged by gospel rules, *to be subject to the higher powers, to obey magistrates*, Tit. iii. 1. *and to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake*, as saith *Pet.* ii. 13. But in case the civil power do, or shall at any time impose things about matters of religion, which we, through conscience to God, cannot actually obey; then

we, with *Peter* alſo, do ſay, That we ought in ſuch caſes *to obey God rather than men*, Acts v. 29. and accordingly do hereby declare our whole and holy intent and purpoſe, That through the help of grace we will not yield, nor in ſuch caſes in the leaſt actually obey them; yet humbly purpoſing, in the Lord's ſtrength, patiently to ſuffer whatſoever ſhall be inflicted upon us for our conſcionable forbearance.

THESE things, O ye ſons and daughters of men, we verily believe to be the Lord's will and mind, and therefore cannot but ſpeak! And if herein we differ from many, yea, from multitudes, from the learned, the wiſe and prudent of this world, we, with *Peter* and *John*, do herein make our ſolemn and ſerious appeal; namely, *Whether it be right in the ſight of God to hearken unto men* (of a contrary perſuaſion) *more than unto God*. O let the judicious judge righteous judgment, *Acts* iv. 19, 20. And in the belief and practice of theſe things, it being the good old apoſtolical way, our ſouls have found that reſt and ſoul peace which the world knows not, and which they cannot take from us. Of whom then ſhall we be afraid? *God is become our ſtrength, our light, our ſalvation*; therefore are we reſolved, through grace, to ſeal the truth of theſe things, in a way of ſuffering perſecution; not only to the loſs of our goods, freedoms, or liberties, but with our lives alſo, if called thereunto.

MOREOVER we do utterly, and from our very hearts, in the Lord's fear, declare againſt all

all thoſe wicked and deviliſh reports, and reproaches, falſly caſt upon us, as though ſome of us (in and about the city of *London*) had lately *gotten knives, hooked knives*, and the like, and great ſtore of arms beſides what was given forth by order of parliament, intending to cut the throats of ſuch as were contrary minded to us in matters of religion; and that many ſuch *knives* and arms, for the carrying on ſome ſecret deſign, hath been found in ſome of our houſes by ſearch: We ſay, from truth of heart, in the Lord's fear, that we do utterly abhor, and abominate the thoughts thereof, and much more the actions; and do hereby challenge both city and country (in our innocency herein) as being not able to prove the things whereof they accuſe us; and do for evermore declare the inventors of ſuch reports, to be lyars, and wicked deviſers of miſchief, and corrupt deſigns. God that is above all, will juſtify our innocency herein, who well knows our integrity in what we here declare, the Lord lay it not to their charge. In the time of building the decay'd houſe of God, *Sanballat* and *Tobiah (wicked counſellors) hired* Shemaiah, *to make good* Nehemiah *afraid*; and laboured againſt him, that they might have *matter for an evil report*; that they might reproach him, and hinder the building of the houſe of God, *Neh.* vi. 12. *For I have heard*, ſaith the prophet, *the defaming of many; Report, ſay they, and we will report it*, Jer. xx. 10.

SUBSCRIBED by certain Elders, Deacons and Brethren, met at *London*, in the firſt month called *March*, 1660. in the behalf of

of themselves, and many others unto whom they belong in *London*, and in several counties of this nation who are of the same faith with us,

Joseph Wright, *William Russell*,
William Jeffery, *Joseph Keech*,
Thomas Monk, *Nicholas Newbery*,
John Hartnol, *Samuel Lover*,
Benjamin Morley, *George Wright*,
Francis Stanley, *John Parsons*, *junr.*
George Hammon, *Thomas Grantham*,
William Smart, *John Claton*,
John Reeve, *Thomas Seele*,
Thomas Parret, *Michael Whittier*,
John Wood, *Giles Brown*,
Francis Smith, *John Wells*,
Edward Jones, *Stephen Turle*,
Humphry Jones, *Thomas Lambal*,
Matthew Caffin, *William Chadwell*,
Samuel Loveday, *William Rabb*,
John Parsons, *sen.* *Henry Brownel*,
Thomas Stacy, *William Paine*,
Edward Stanly, *Richard Bowtit*,
Jonathan Jennings, *Thomas Smith*.
John Hammersly,

Owned and approved by more than twenty thousand.

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NUMB.

NUMB. V.

A DECLARATION *of a ſmall ſociety of baptized Believers, undergoing the name of* Free-willers, *about the city of* London.

WE well knowing that we are and have been miſrepreſented to the people of this and other nations, as well by particular letters from friend to friend, as by publick intelligence in pamphlets and news books, by which means we have been render'd odious in the eyes of almoſt all, and as it were made a by word, and a hiſſing to all. Were notwithſtanding willing, according to the requirement of our Saviour, *In our patience to poſſeſs our ſouls*, and ſilently to wait upon our God, for a clearing of our innocency, and the cleanneſs of our hands in his eye-ſight; but lately having had a view of a declaration, dated the 12th of *December* laſt, made by ſome perſons of the particular judgment; in which ſome others of another perſuaſion have joined, to the which, in ſeveral particulars, we cannot in the leaſt aſſent to; we therefore thought it our bounden duty, for the vindication of that truth which we are in preſent profeſſion and practice of; as alſo fearing, leſt they having declared to publick view, we by our ſilence ſhould be looked upon either to be of the ſame judgment with them in what they have declared, or elſe guilty of all or ſome of thoſe five particulars they in that declaration ſay the Baptiſts in general are charged

Luke xxi. 19.

charged withal, have therefore ſet pen to paper, and ſhall firſt give a particular of the ſaid five charges; and then, as in the preſence of God, lay down our real judgments and perſuaſions grounded upon ſcripture record, to thoſe charges; by which it will be apparent that we are not guilty of them at all, and that we differ from the ſaid declarers in point of judgment: and if we ſhall in any thing therein derogate from the mind of God, we ſhall deſire, in the ſpirit of love, to be rectified by better judgments from the word of truth; and ſhall think our ſelves happy gainers in ſuch a Chriſtian reproof. Say they, we being miſrepreſented to the nation,

1. As *ſuch as are oppoſite to magiſtracy.*

2. That *we would deſtroy the publick miniſtry of the nation, who differ from us in ſome things about religion.*

3. That *we do countenance the people called* Quakers *in their irregular practice.*

4. That *we do endeavour a toleration of all miſcarriages in things eccleſiaſtical and civil, under pretence of liberty of conſcience.*

5. That *we deſire to murder and deſtroy thoſe that differ from us in matters of religion.*

To the *firſt*, we poſitively ſay, That we are ſo far from oppoſing magiſtracy, as that it would be to us matter of great rejoicing to know who were our magiſtrates; but far greater to ſee ſuch ſet up who are men fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs, that ſo juſtice might be duly executed without reſpect

ſpect of perſons, and judgment run down like water, and righteouſneſs like a mighty ſtream, that ſo there might be no more leading into captivity, and that complaining in our ſtreets might have an end. But for our parts, to take a carnal weapon in our hands, or uſe the leaſt violence, either to ſupport or pull down the worſt, or to ſet up or maintain the beſt of men, we look not upon it to be our duty in the leaſt; much leſs to have a thought of endeavouring to ſet up our ſelves, either directly or indirectly; for were we abilitated and furniſhed with ſuch endowments as might render us capable of being rulers, yet could we not allow our ſelves to act as magiſtrates, becauſe we are a people *choſen out of the world*, and look upon our ſelves *as pilgrims and ſtrangers in the earth*. But this we know to be the mind of God, that we are to be *ſubject to, and not to reſiſt the powers*, becauſe they be *ordained of God*; and as God ſets them up, ſo he requires his ſons and daughters to render unto them *tribute, cuſtom, fear and honour*. And we further declare, That it is our bounden duty in obedience to our God, to *pray for kings, and all that are in authority*. So that we are ſo far from oppoſing them, as that we ſay it is our duty to obey them in all civil things that are agreeable to the mind of God; and if they ſhall require any thing from us that is contrary to his mind and will revealed in his holy ſcriptures of truth, we ſay, we are not to reſiſt them; but if in conſcience we cannot obey them, then we are patiently to ſuffer under them, whatever they ſhall inflict upon us for our non-obedience to their requirements; and

John xv. 19. Heb. xi. 17. 1 Pet. ii. 11. Rom. xiii. *beg.* 1 Pet. ii. 13. Tit. iii. 2. Rom. xiii. 7. 1 Tim. ii. 2.

to

to this we yet further declare, That it is our real judgment as to things spiritual, not to own them as our lawgivers in the least; *for there is one Lawgiver which is able to save and to destroy*, which is the Lord; and therefore if they shall at any time impose upon us laws in point of worship; that is, either to worship a false god, or the true God after a false manner; we, by God's assistance, shall tell them, with *Shadrach*, *Meshech* and *Abednego*, That we are not careful to answer them in that matter, yet shall not violently resist, but with them patiently suffer under them as aforesaid.

James iv. 12. Isa. xxxiii. 22.

Dan. iii. 16.

To the *second*, *That we would destroy the publick ministry of the nation, that differ from us about some things in religion.* We do declare, That if there be a destruction intended between us, we must leave it at their doors, and desire them to judge between the all-seeing God, the searcher of all hearts, and their own consciences, what they have intended by their so often pressing *parliament* men from time to time, for a suppression of all, that are not of their judgment in matters of religion; and upon search made, if they find themselves guilty of a desire of any such destruction unto us, we shall beg them in God's fear, to break off that evil by timely repentance, and make their peace with God: as for our parts, we are so far from desiring any revenge against them, or any other that shall desire or endeavour our ruin; as that in the presence of God we shall rather pity than envy them, and, according to the requirement of our Lawgiver, *pray for them*, and their conversion, not at all in the least desiring or endeavouring their confusion. That there

Matt. v. 44.

are

are many things wherein the publick miniſtry of the nation and we differ in matters of religion, both in doctrine and diſcipline, is very clear, and that we deſign or ſo much as deſire the deſtruction of them, or any other perſon whatſoever; for ſuch differences, or any other matters concerning our ſelves, we hope in our further anſwer to this, and to the fourth and fifth particulars, we ſhall manifeſt to be as clear, and alſo therein diſcover our ſelves to be the *peaceable lambs of Chriſt, the great Shepherd and Biſhop of our ſouls*, who doth require us to *learn of him, for he is lowly and meek*; yet notwithſtanding we do declare, when or whereſoever ſome of us ſhall conveniently meet with any of them, either in private or in publick, we ſhall reſolve (God aſſiſting us) *to contend earneſtly with them for the faith once delivered to the ſaints*, according to that exhortation of the Spirit of God by his Apoſtle *Jude*, and againſt them, and all oppoſitions, and oppoſers whatſoever, as good *ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, fight the good fight of faith*; in which combat we are confident, we neither ſhall hazard life, nor draw blood; for through mercy we can ſay with our Apoſtle, That *though we live in the fleſh, yet we war not after the fleſh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal.*

John xxi. 15.
1 Pet. ii. 25.
—— v. 4.
Heb. x. 20.
Matt. xi.
Jude *ver.* 3.
2 Tim. ii. 3.
1 Tim. vi. 12.
2 Cor. x. 3, 4.

To the *third*, That *we countenance the people called* Quakers *in their irregular practice*. To this we anſwer, and God is our witneſs, we lye not, that we are ſo far from countenancing the *Quakers* our ſelves in any irregular practice, as that if we our ſelves be found in any ſuch actings, we ſhall not violently oppoſe, but patiently ſubject to ſuch penal-

penalties as the breach of ſuch laws call for; it would have been well if the aſſertors had declared wherein this irregular practice doth conſiſt, that ſo we might have given a more particular anſwer; yet we hope, by what hath and ſhall be declared, it will eaſily be judged, that we, for our parts, are no ſuch people as the Baptiſts generally are reported, and ſome ſhew themſelves to be.

To the *fourth, That we endeavour a toleration of all miſcarriages in things eccleſiaſtical and civil, under pretence of liberty of conſcience.* If by endeavouring a toleration of all miſcarriages in things eccleſiaſtical, the aſſertors intend amongſt our ſelves in our own aſſemblies, we ſhall anſwer them as in the preſence of God, the Searcher of all hearts, that we are ſo far from any ſuch toleration, as that we, at this very day, go under a reproach by that people we formerly walked withal; becauſe in the reality of our ſouls, and the integrity of our hearts, we cannot allow of ſome things that we judge to be of that nature amongſt them, we well knowing that the Lord Chriſt requires a perfect obſervation of, and a univerſal obedience to all things whatſoever he commanded; and that as well to what hath been laid down by his Apoſtles, given in by the incomes of that ſpirit that was to lead them into all truth, and to ſhew them things to come; which are alſo the commands of Chriſt, as to thoſe that were laid down by himſelf: So that we poſitively ſay, That if we ſhall allow of any miſcarriages either in doctrine or diſcipline amongſt our ſelves, to thwart the mind of Chriſt, revealed in his ſcriptures of truth, we can expect no better

Matt. xxviii. 20.

John xvi. 13. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. John xviii. 12, 15.

better anſwer for him, than a proclamation of our worſhip, to our vain worſhip, as once he declared againſt the *Jews*: And therefore, if miſcarriages ariſe amongſt us, we are to bring ſuch miſcarriages to the touchſtone of God's word, and ſo weigh them in the ballance of the ſanctuary, and finding them either too heavy or too light, that is, either adding or diminiſhing from or to the mind of Chriſt, we are then to repair to thoſe wholeſome laws left us in ſcripture record, for the regulating of ſuch miſcarriages according to the nature of them, as they are private or publick, or more or leſs in their ſeveral aggravations, and as they are committed by perſons ſtanding in ſuch or ſuch relations. We ſay the more of this, becauſe moſt perſons think, and many do not ſtick to ſay, that we live and act, in things eccleſiaſtical, as libertines, and without church government, becauſe we withdraw our ſelves from the publick aſſemblies. But did ſuch perſons rightly conſider what the diſcipline of the miniſtry of the nation is in their parochial aſſemblies, who profeſs themſelves to be the true ſpouſe and church of Chriſt, and compare it with the mind of Chriſt revealed in the ſcriptures of truth, who gives laws to his church, which is that body of which he himſelf is the head; they would then find themſelves to be the libertines, and not we: and therefore we ſhall earneſtly deſire all that are unacquainted with the true diſcipline of the church of Chriſt, well to weigh, and ſeriouſly to conſider the ſtatute laws of Chriſt, in that caſe provided; the which, as we will anſwer the contrary at the great day of account, we dare not in the leaſt wilfully violate or neglect.

Matt. xv. 9.

Eph. iv. 15, 21, 22. Col. i. 18. —— ii. 19. 2 Tim. iii. 16. —— iv. 1, 2. Eph. v. 11. Matt. xviii. 15. 1 Tim. v. 12, 19, 20. —— vi. 5. —— i. 20.

Tit. iii. 10. 2 Theſſ. ii. 15. 2 Theſſ. iii. 10. 1 Cor. v. 4, 9, 11. ——— v. 12,

But if by miſcarriages in things eccleſiaſtical, they mean that we endeavour a toleration of all miſcarriages amongſt them in their aſſemblies, we ſhall, in the preſence of God, clear our ſelves, and ſay, We have nothing at all to do with them in ſuch matters; for we ſay, They are *without*, as to us, and ſo we look upon our ſelves to be as to them. And if any one ſhall ſeem to be troubled at this term *without*, and object and ſay, That we are all the creation of God, and what need thoſe expreſſions of, *Stand at a diſtance, I am more holy than you*; to ſuch we ſhall anſwer in the ſpirit of love and meekneſs, and God is our witneſs, without oſtentation, that it is true, all the ſons and daughters of *Adam*, are the ſons and daughters of God by creation, but few by regeneration and adoption; for *many are called, but few choſen*; for not the *hearers of the law, but the doers ſhall be juſtified*, and not every one that ſaith, *Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of the Father*; we well know, that many will ſay, Theſe are hard ſayings, and cannot well bear them; but to ſuch we ſhall give a direction in our poſtſcript, where from one of us they may expect, and we hope alſo find good ſatisfaction as to the term *without*.

Matt. xx. 16. Rom. ii. 13. Matt. vii. 21.

THAT we own liberty of conſcience, we confeſs, but under that or any other pretence, to endeavour a toleration of any miſcarriages, either in things eccleſiaſtical or civil, we have given (we hope) full ſatisfaction; for ſeeing it is the will of our maſter, to have the tares

——— xiii. 30.

and the wheat grow together till the harveſt; and that our heavenly Father doth exerciſe his

inog-

long-ſuffering to the whole bulk of mankind, *not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to repentance*; we look upon it to be our duty to follow God as *dear children*, and thus to *walk in love*; and therefore are *like minded*, having the ſame love; and therefore do further declare, That we are as free, that all others ſhould enjoy their liberties as we our ſelves, of what judgment ſoever they be, we well knowing that ſome are called at the eleventh hour, as well as at the firſt and third. And had the Apoſtle *Paul* been plucked up whilſt he was a tare, a perſecutor, a blaſphemer, and the chief of ſinners, he had never been ſuch choice wheat, to ſatisfy, refreſh, enable, enliven, enlighten, encourage, build up and inſtruct, correct and reprove, the building of God, the houſe of God, the houſhold of God, the ſons and daughters of God, nor that body of which Chriſt is the head; and therefore we cannot but ſay again, that we are as free, that all others ſhould enjoy their liberties in the things of God, as we our ſelves, we well knowing that every one muſt give an account of himſelf to God; *for every one ſhall receive the things done in the body according to what they have done, whether it be good or bad.* But either to procure or maintain our own or others liberties by force of arms, or the leaſt violence, we can find no warrant from the ſcriptures of truth, in the leaſt, which is that only and alone rule that we walk by; for all the remedy that we find there recorded is, that if they *perſecute us in one city, we may flee into another*; and this we ſee acted by our Saviour himſelf, and by his parents, and the

2 Pet. iii. 9.
Eph. v. 1, 2.
Phil. ii. 2.
Matt. xx. 1, 6.
1 Tim. i. 13, 15.
1 Cor. iii. 9.
Heb. iii. 6.
Eph. ii. 19.
1 Cor. vi. 18.
Col. i. 18.
Rom. xiv. 12.
1 Cor. v. 10.
Matt. xxv. 34, 41.
John vii. 1.
Matt. ii. 14.

Acts xii. 17. —— ix. 25, 26. 1 Cor. xi. 33.

Apoſtle *Peter* and ſaint *Paul*. And to follow our Maſter, and to tread in the footſteps of the flock of God gone before us, we judge is very ſafe; but to reſiſt by force of arms, or uſe the leaſt violence, we judge unwarrantable.

To the *fifth* and *laſt* particular; *That we would murder and deſtroy thoſe that differ from us in matters of religion.* To this we cannot but anſwer, That ſo to do, we judge were not ſo much as common humanity, much leſs religion or chriſtianity; but our religion is *pure, and undefiled before God and our Father*, which is to *viſit the fatherleſs and widows*; not to make fatherleſs and widows; and to viſit them in their afflictions; not to murder and deſtroy their relations, to bring them under afflictions: But to this we further anſwer, That this and the fourth particular we judge ſeem to contradict one another; for murdering and deſtroying for difference in matters of religion and liberty of conſcience, cannot ſtand together, nor in the eye of reaſon can they be charged againſt one and the ſame perſons; for murdering and deſtroying for difference in matters of religion, deſtroys liberty of conſcience, and liberty of conſcience ſwallows up and drowns murdering and deſtroying for difference in matters of religion: ſo that it argues, that the aſſertors of theſe things are yet in *Babylon* and confuſion, with thoſe our Apoſtle writ of, not *knowing well what they ſay, nor whereof they do affirm*; yet, notwithſtanding, ſeeing we are therewith charged, in order to the diſcharging our ſelves of this confuſed burden, we ſhall, in the ſingleneſs of our ſouls, yet further diſcover our real judgments, as to the main intent of the charge,

1 Tim. i. 7.

which

which is murdering and deſtroying; and add this further, that we read of a threefold ſword in ſcripture.

(1.) THE ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God. Eph. vi. 17.

(2.) THE ſword of juſtice, which is the magiſtrates ſword. Rom. xiii. 4.

(3.) THE ſword of ſteel, uſually ſo called, which is the ſword of ſlaughter. Iſa. i. 20. Ez. ix. 1, 2.

THE *firſt* of theſe we are required to take to us, and *put on*, and *thus to be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might*, whoſe might was evidenced once again and again, by uſing this ſword ſkilfully; *for it is mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong holds, caſting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it ſelf againſt the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity*, &c. and having in a readineſs *to revenge all diſobedience*, and *is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furniſhed unto all good works*; *for we wreſtle not with fleſh and blood, but againſt principalities, powers, the rulers of the darkneſs of this world*; not for nor againſt the magiſtrates, parliament, nor armies of the world, the beſt of whoſe ſtrength is fleſh and not ſpirit, who ſhall be deſtroy'd together. As for the ſword of juſtice, or the magiſtrates ſword we are to be ſubject to it, as we have fully declared, and not to reſiſt it; which ſword takes revenge on no man before he be apprehended, charged, heard, and by good evidence convicted, and ſentence, according to the fact prov'd, given; and then an immediate commiſſion given to an executioner, Eph. vi. 11, 13, 17. Matt. iv. 4, 7, 9. 2 Cor. x. 4, 5, 6. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. Eph. vi. 12. Iſa. xxxi. 1, 2, 3. Matt. xxvi. 58.

according to the fact and ſentence, for the putting this ſword in execution.

But the ſword of ſlaughter, without examination or due conſideration, is, many times, put in execution to the ſlaying and deſtroying of friends as well as enemies, witneſs thoſe ſlaughters and woundings in this city in the late inſurrection.

And for our acting in this ſword, we can find no warrant from ſcripture in the leaſt; for that ſword being once procured by *Peter*, and another of the diſciples, and that by an immediate commiſſion from Chriſt, the work being finiſhed for which it was intended, we find an immediate and peremptory command for the ſheathing it again; and this reaſon
Matt. xxvi. 52. Mark xvi. 15. rendered from the lip of truth it ſelf; *for all they that take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword: for whoſoever will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it.* And we find no toleration in holy writ to the people of God for the drawing it again in the leaſt, neither by precept nor example.

But leſt this countermand ſhould not be looked upon to be a ſufficient warrant for its continuance in its place, by the people of God, for the time to come; the Lord Chriſt, among ſeveral other weighty things, ſent to the ſeven churches in *Aſia*, and in them to us, by *John* the revelator, is not backward to remind them, and us in them of it again, as a matter of no ſmall concernment; and, as we judge, leſt it ſhould not be taken ſo much notice of by us in this our day as he would have it, he bringeth it in, in the midſt of a diſcourſe, not long before the riſe of the man of ſin, when one of the heads of the beaſt

beaſt is wounded as it were to death, and that deadly wound was healed; intimating thus much, as we apprehend, That as kingly power hath had a wound in theſe nations, even as it were unto death, ſo we know that the deſign of God ſhall be brought about, and the ſcriptures muſt be fulfilled; for the deadly wound ſhall be healed. And we finding the ſpirits of the generality of the people of the three nations very high in this juncture of time in the behalf of kingly government, like *Iſrael* of old; ſo that by the face of things, as they appear to us in this laſt change, we do diſcern as through a glaſs darkly, that the deadly wound is now going to be healed, although we do really judge, that ſeveral that are in preſent eminent power, intend no ſuch thing, no more than the Jews in the crucifying of Chriſt, intended the bringing the great deſign and fore-appointment of God about; by all which we judge, that caution was intended chiefly to us, *upon whom the ends of the world is come*; and leſt we ſhould not be ſo mindful of our duties as he would have us, he makes, as it were, a proclamation, to beſpeak our better attention to what he intendeth, and ſaith, *He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear; he that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity: he that killeth with the ſword, ſhall be killed with the ſword.* Here is the faith and patience of the ſaints; that whilſt others are leading into captivity, and killing with the ſword, to pull down, or ſet up this or that power, man, or government, to give a deadly wound to kingly power, or to heal that deadly wound again; that then the people of God ſhould,

Rev. xiii. 3.

1 Sam. viii.

Acts ii. 23.

Rev. xiii. 9, 10.

Heb. iii. 17. in their *patience poſſeſs their ſouls*, and in the midſt of theſe revolutions exerciſe their faith, as once that prophet did, and faithfully to depend upon God for his preſervation and protection, keeping themſelves pure and undefiled, from leading into captivity, or killing with the ſword, leſt they themſelves be led into captivity, and be killed by the ſword; thereby evidencing themſelves to be the *peaceable flock of Chriſt, choſen out of the world*, and following their *maſter, the Lord and prince of peace*, being regulated by his requirements in the *goſpel of peace*, having received from the *God of peace*, that *ſpirit*, whoſe *fruits is love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs and temperance, againſt which there is no law*; that as they are Chriſt's, ſo they ſhould evidence that they have *crucified the fleſh with the affections and luſts*; but luſt being not crucified, it breaks forth into wars and fightings; for when *men luſt, and have not*, then they *kill and deſire to have*: and when the people of God ſhall act thus, the ſpirit of God brands them with thoſe ignominious names of adulterers and adultreſſes; informing them, that what they are fighting for is enmity againſt God; and that if they obtain it, they are enemies to God: And we well knowing that whilſt we are friends to the world we are enemies to God, dare not, in the leaſt, have to do in the world, ſo as to ſet up ourſelves, or to ſide with any either in ſetting up or pulling down; and how can a man's love to the world be evidenced more, than in venturing his life for it, according to that ſaying of our Saviour.

John xv. 19.
Iſa. ix. 6.
2 Theſſ. iii. 16.
Rom. x. 15.
Eph. vi. 15.
Rom. xv. 33.
—— xvi. 20.
2 Cor. xiii. 11.
Gal. v. 22, 23, 24.
James iv. 1, 2.
—— iv. 4.
John xv. 13.

AND,

AND we further declare, That as we are to be a peaceable people upon the account of action, ſo we look upon it to be our duty to keep our ſelves from oaths, engagements and covenants, either for or againſt this or that perſon, government, or perſons whatſoever: *For becauſe of ſwearing the land mourneth.* Jer. xxiii. 10. *For the Lord hath a controverſy with the inhabitants of the land; becauſe there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land; for by ſwearing, and lying, and killing, and ſtealing, and committing adultery, they break forth, and blood toucheth blood, ſaith the prophet.* And ſaith the ſame prophet; Hoſ. iv. 1, 2, 3. *They have ſpoken words ſwearing falſly in making a covenant. Thus judgment ſpringeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field*; and we not knowing what the cabinet counſel of God is in this our day, upon the account of government, dare not in the leaſt have ſo much as a thought to engage in any ſuch thing, *leſt we be found fighters againſt God*, Acts v. 39. according to the ſaying of *Gamaliel*, though in another caſe. — x. 3, 4.

AND therefore do declare our reſolution herein, That we ſhall not (God aſſiſting us) enter into any engagement whatſoever upon any ſuch account; yet ſhall this ſay again, That we ſhall not violently reſiſt the impoſers of any ſuch engagements; but ſhall patiently ſuffer the penalty of our non-obedience as aforeſaid.

AND we further declare, as in the preſence of God, who is the ſearcher of all hearts, That as it hath been ſome of our great trouble for a long time, to ſee ſome of thoſe that are in the ſame faith and order with us, ſo acting;

ing; ſo it is now become even an overwhelming burden upon our ſouls, to ſee them generally running ſuch a precipitant courſe, by which actings of theirs, the mouths almoſt of all men are opened againſt them, and that truth they profeſs, moſt ignominiouſly branded and reproached. And therefore we further declare, That in the ſight of God, Angels and men, that we bear our teſtimony againſt them in their preſent actings, and cannot ſtand by them, nor have communion with them therein, nor with thoſe that ſtrengthen their hands in ſtanding by them; and muſt tell them, in the words of our Saviour, *That they know not what ſpirit they are of*; for *the ſon of man*, their maſter, *came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.* Luke ix. 55.

THE premiſes conſider'd, we ſhall appeal to the judgments of all rational men, whether we are guilty of what we are charged withal or not; yet if they ſhall ſtill go on notwithſtanding, to uſe us reproachfully for the name of Chriſt, we ſhall be ſo far from endeavouring or deſiring a revenge, as that, in the words of Chriſt, we ſhall, in our requeſts at the throne of grace, cry out and ſay, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do.*

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

FOrasmuch as the said declarers, in their answer to the first particular in their declaration, do call the *Independants and Presbyterians* their Christian friends, the which however it is they so complement with them, yet in reality (we judge) they cannot own them as such upon a scripture account; as also because one Mr. *William Alleyn*, in a book lately by him publish'd, intitled, *A retractation to separation*. In which book, in the whole current of it, all the scriptures that he brings, which were written by the immediate direction and incomes of the holy Spirit of God, to the churches, as they were in the faith and order of the gospel, he applieth to, and also for, and in the behalf of *Episcopals*, *Independants* and *Presbyterians*, who are opposite both to the doctrine and discipline of those churches, he intending thereby to persuade us, if possible, to a belief that they are the true and visible members of that body, of which Christ is the head; the which book, by God's assistance, is intended suddenly to be answer'd by one of our society, who resolveth to intitle it, *The retractators work scan'd, or the conceptions and supposals of Mr.* William Alleyn, *regulated by scripture record*; in which, with other things, a gospel believer, or a true church of Christ, upon a gospel account, is intended to be stated; the which is hoped will be so plain, that it may prove instrumental to the undeceiving of some

that

that are under a deceit, by means of that and ſuch deceitful diſcourſes as that is. In which anſwer it is further hoped, that thoſe that are unſatisfied with our term *without*, in our anſwer in our declaration to the fourth particular, may receive alſo good ſatisfaction; and in the mean time, we deſire all to take notice, that though we thus ſpeak, yet we have good thoughts of thoſe friends that go under thoſe denominations, and do own them, and all others, of all other opinions whatſoever, in union, ſo far as they own God, Chriſt and their truths: but to own the beſt of men to be members of that body of which Chriſt is the head, and ſo to have communion with them, either to make them our mouth in prayer to God for us, or God's mouth in ſpeaking forth his truths to us, or in breaking of bread at the table of the Lord, we cannot own them in the leaſt, our reaſons, we hope, will be fully laid down in the anſwer to the ſaid book.

Henry Adis, *Richard Pilgrim*, *William Cox*, in behalf of themſelves, and thoſe that walk with them.

And if any man ſhall queſtion the reaſon why there are no more ſubſcribers to this long declaration; we muſt anſwer them in the ſorrow of our hearts, in the language of the prophet; *Wo is us, for we are as when they have gathered the ſummer fruits, as the grape gatherings in the vintage, there is no cluſters to eat. The good man is periſhed out of the earth, and there is none upright amongſt men;*

Mic. vii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

they

they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net. That they may do evil with both hands earneſtly, the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward, and the great man he uttereth his miſchievous deſire; ſo they wrap it up. The beſt of them is as a briar, the moſt upright is ſharper than a thorn hedge: the day of thy watchmen, and thy viſitation cometh, now ſhall be their perplexity.

FOR thus ſaith the Lord by his prophet; *Your iniquities have ſeparated between you and your God, and your ſins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear: for your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity, your lips have ſpoken lies, your tongues have mutter'd perverſeneſs. None calleth for juſtice, nor any pleadeth for truth; they truſt in vanity, and ſpeak lies; they conceive miſchief, and bring forth iniquity. They hatch cockatrice eggs, and weave the ſpider's web; he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is cruſhed breaketh out into a viper. Their webs ſhall not become garments, neither ſhall they cover themſelves with their works: their works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands. Their feet run to evil, and they make haſte to ſhed innocent blood: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, waſting and deſtruction is in their paths. The way of peace they know not, and there is no judgment in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whoſoever goeth therein, ſhall not know peace. Therefore is judgment far from us; we wait for light, but behold obſcurity; for brightneſs, but we walk in dark-*

Iſa. lix. 2.

darkneſs; and ſo read on to the 18th verſe. *According to their deeds, accordingly he will pay, fury to his adverſaries, recompence to his enemies, to the iſlands he will repay recompence.*

But leſt any man ſhould think us to be what we are not, by what hath been inſerted in our paper, after our ſubſcriptions, we ſhall in fine declare, That, in the preſence of God, that what we have ſaid, is againſt ſinful actions, and not perſons.

There are *three* or *four* lines following ſo torn in ſome parts of them, that I chuſe rather to omit them than ſupply, for fear of miſtake.

FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Third *Volume* of the *History of the English Baptists* is ready for the Press, and will be sent thither as soon as the Subscriptions are compleated. It will contain the like number of sheets, be printed with the same letter, and upon as good paper as the former volumes. The price to the Subscribers will be *Four Shillings* in sheets, or *Five Shillings* neatly bound in calf. Those who subscribe for *Six* to have a *Seventh* gratis.

Chap. I. of this *Volume* will contain an account of those *Baptist* ministers who were ejected or silenced by or before the *Act of Uniformity*, or otherwise suffer'd on account of their ministry. Besides those already mentioned, in Vol. II. I have obtained some account of these following, *viz.*

Robert Brown
John Harding
Robert Steed
——— *Williams*
Paul Frewin
Joseph Head
Abraham Chear
Paul Hobson
Thomas Hardcastle
George Fownes
John Miles
Thomas Fraud
John Shinner
Laurence Wise
John St. Nicholas
Will. Woodward
Thomas Jennings
——— *Baker*
John Smith
Thomas Paxford
Henry Haggar
John Canne
Thomas Patient
Thomas Lamb
John Gosnold
John Bunyan

Thomas Grantham
Henry Danvers
William Jeffery
John Reeve
Henry Forty
Thomas Wilcox
Isaac Lamb
George Hammon
Richard Hobs
Charles M. Duveil
Edward Morecock
Samuel Taverner
Thomas Plant
William Purdoe
John Denne
Manasseh King
Joseph Jennings
Joseph Wright
Matthew Caffin
John Exell
Richard Farmer
——— *Gamman*
John Griffith
Stephen Dagnal
John Miller

James Wilmot
——— *Tidmarsh*
John Amos
Thomas Burgess
James Hind
Peter Coles
John Sanger
Roger Applin
John Tredwell
Francis Stanley
John Grunden
Stephen Curtis
Joseph Slater
Benjamin Morley
Hercules Collins
Joseph Davis
George Sanders
Rich. Drinkwater
Thomas Bowes
John Maulden
Benjamin Keach
Andrew Gifford
Joseph Masters
Richard Allein
Richard Adams

These are all at present I have any account of. If any thing further be communicated in due time, a due regard shall be had thereunto, without respect of persons.

WHERE,

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEREAS the Practical Works of the Reverend Mr. BENJAMIN KEACH are now become very ſcarce, and the ſole property of almoſt all of them belonging unto me; It is propoſed, to print by *Subſcription*,

A Second Edition of his

ΤΡΟΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ,

OR,

A Key *to open Scripture Metaphors.*

And alſo His

EXPOSITION *of all the* PARABLES, *and many expreſs Similitudes contained in the Four Evangeliſts, ſpoken by our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*; with ſome others of his practical works. To which will be prefixed,

The LIFE and EFFIGIES of the AUTHOR.

CONDITIONS.

I. THAT this work will contain between five and ſix hundred ſheets, and be printed on a good Demy paper, and fair character, in Three volumes *Folio*. Four ſheets, ſtitch'd in blue paper, will be deliver'd to the Subſcribers in Town, at their reſpective habitations, weekly, at the price of *Six-pence*.

II. That this work will be ſent to the Preſs as ſoon as a ſufficient number of Subſcribers are procured to defray the neceſſary expences of this undertaking: Therefore thoſe Gentlemen who are willing to encourage the ſame, are deſired to be as ſpeedy as poſſible in ſending or giving an account of their names, and places of abode.

III. That to thoſe who require it, ſixteen ſheets, ſtitch'd in blue paper, ſhall be deliver'd according to their order, monthly, at the price of *Two ſhillings*.

IV. That thoſe who ſubſcribe for Six ſhall have a Seventh *gratis*.

V. That a Liſt of Subſcribers names alphabetically digeſted, ſhall be printed and prefixed to the Firſt Volume.